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LE "LAI" ET LA "NOTE" DU CHÈVREFEUILLE

JEAN MAILLARD

A Madame Eugène Vinaver en très respectueux hommage

Branche détachée de la Forêt de Morois, selon l'expression de Gustave Cohen [1], l'épisode de la rencontre de Tristan fugitif et de la reine est poétisé à l'extrême par un symbole: celui du chèvrefeuille enlaçant le coudrier; *senhal* parmi les plus délicats imaginés par la *fine amor* [2].

On sait que cette aventure nous a été transmise par Marie de France dans son lai le plus court [3]:

Tristan a été chassé par le Roi Marc. Après un séjour en son pays natal, Sud-Galles, il revient vers la Cornouaille, vivant en vagabond de la générosité des paysans. Ayant appris que Marc devait tenir une haute cour à Tintagel, il décide de mettre en évidence sur le chemin que suivra la Reine, un signal qui la doit avertir de la proximité de celui qu'elle aime. Il s'agit d'un morceau équarri de coudrier, autour duquel s'enroule une branche de chèvrefeuille. Sur une face du coudrier, Tristan a gravé avec son couteau son propre nom. Pour prévenir Yseut de ce symbole qui pourrait lui échapper — d'une part, elle doit passer à cheval, et elle ignore totalement par ailleurs la présence en Cornouailles de son ami —, Tristan lui adresse une lettre secrète dont la teneur essentielle: la *somme de l'écrit,* est souvent citée:

> Bele amie, si est de nos
> Ne vos sanz moi, ne moi sanz vos!

Le coudrier symbolise Tristan, le chèvrefeuille, la Reine.

Yseut trouve le senhal, fait éloigner sa cohorte et, en la seule présence de Brangien la fidèle, retrouve Tristan auquel elle apprend comment il se pourrait réconcilier avec le Roi Marc.

Nous n'entrerons pas ici dans un débat qui a fait couler beaucoup d'encre et exposer des interprétations bien divergentes au sujet de la *somme de l'escrit,* ou du message gravé par Tristan sur le coudrier [4]. Nous ren-

1 *Le roman courtois au XIIème siècle,* Paris CDU, s.d. p. 159.

2 cf. Jean Frappier, *Vues sur les conceptions courtoises dans les littératures d'oc et d'oïl au XIIème siècle,* in *Cahiers de Civilisation médiévale,* II (Poitiers, 1959), pp. 135-156.

3 Edit. Ernest Hoeppfner, *Marie de France, les lais,* Strasbourg 1921, lai IV, pp. 103-107.

4 G. Schoepperle, *Chievrefoil,* in *Romania,* XXXVIII (1909) pp. 196-218. — L. Spitzer, *La baguette de coudrier (la lettre sur la baguette de coudrier) dans le Lai*

verrons le lecteur aux récentes mises au point de M.M. Jean Frappier et Pierre Le Gentil [5]. Nous ne ferons que noter l'origine celtique du symbole [6].

Ce qui intéresse le musicologue, c'est la conclusion de Marie de France, aux vers 107-118 [7]:

Por la joie qu'il ot eüe
De s'amie qu'il ot veüe
Et por ce qu'il avoit escrit
Si com la roïne l'ot dit,
Por les paroles ramembrer
Tristram qui bien savoit harper
En avoit fet un novel lai.
Assez briément le nomerai:
"Gotelef" l'apelent Englois,
"Chievrefueil" le noment François.
Dit vos en ai la verité
Du lai que j'ai ici conté.

Ainsi Tristan, en bon breton, aurait composé un lai de cette aventure [8]. Nous savons, par l'auteur anonyme de la *Folie Tristan* d'Oxford, le réconfort que, dans son exil, lui apportait la musique:

du Chèvrefeuille, in *Romania,* LXIX (1946) pp. 80-90. — Grace Frank, *Marie de France and the Tristram Legend,* PMLA, LXIII (1948) pp. 405-411. — Anna Granville Hatcher, *Lai du Chèvrefeuille,* in *Romania,* LXXI (1950) pp. 330-344. — S. Hofer, *Der Tristanroman und der Lai du Chevrefeuille der Marie de France,* in ZfrPh, LXIX (1953) pp. 129-131. — Anna Maria Valero, *El lai del Chievrefueil de Maria da Francia,* in *Boletin de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona,* XXIV (1952) pp. 173-183. — Martin de Riquer, *La "aventure", el "lai", y el "conte" en Maria de Francia,* in *Filologia Romanza,* II-5 (1955) pp. 1-19: étude capitale pour la distinction entre lai lyrique et lai narratif.

5 Jean Frappier, Contribution au débat sur le *Lai du Chèvrefeuille,* in *Mélanges István Frank,* Sarrebruck (1957) pp. 215-224. — Pierre Le Gentil, *A propos du Lai du Chèvrefeuille et de l'interprétation des textes médiévaux,* in *Mélanges d'Histoire littéraire de la Renaissance offerts à Henri Chamard,* Paris (1951) pp. 17-27.

6 cf. James Carney, *Studies in Irish Literature and History* in revue of *Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies,* 1955, pp. 223-225.

7 édit. E. Hoeppfner, p. 107. — Au sujet de la valeur de Tristan compositeur, cf. Ezio Levi, *I lais brettoni e la leggenda di Tristano,* in *Studj Romanzi,* XIV (1917) pp. 113-246 et Jean Maillard, *Coutumes musicales au Moyen-Age d'après le Tristan en prose,* in *Cahiers de Civilisation médiévale,* II (Poitiers, 1959), pp. 341-353.

8 On sait que les Bretons composaient des lais relatant les aventures de quelque importance:

In Brytayn this lays arne ywrytt
Furst yfaunde, and forthe ygete
Of aventures that fillen by dayes ...
(*Lai of Sir Orpheo*)

Od ma harpe me delitoie
Je n'oi confort ke tant amoie.

Ce *Lai du Chèvrefeuille* est fréquemment cité dans les oeuvres médiévales. Tristan lui-même l'avait introduit dans le répertoire des ménestrels:

En sa main a pris un flagueil
Molt dolcement en flajola
Et par dedens le flaguel a
Noté le Lai del Chievrefueil
Et puis a mis jus le flagueil.
Li rois et li barons l'oïrent,
A merveille s'en esjoïrent.
Yseut l'ot, molt fu esmarie:
"Ha, fet-ele, Sainte Marie,
Je quit c'est Tristans, mes ami!" [9].

La mélodie de ce lai a connu une faveur extrême dès le milieu du XIIème siècle au moins, comme l'attestent non seulement les vers 115-116 du lai narratif de Marie de France, mais encore cet extrait de la chanson de geste *Garin li Loherains* de Jean de Flagy:

. . . font feste moult grant
Harpes et gigues, et jongleors chantant:
En lor chansons vont les lais viëlant
Que en Bretagne firent ja li amant;
Del Chevrefoil vont le sonet disant
Que Tristans fist que Iseut ama tant [10]

ou l'annonce souvent citée du riche répertoire de Renart le Goupil travesti en jongleur [11].

Là se pose un nouveau problème: le lai dont nous donnons plus loin la transcription est-il celui qu'a composé Tristan, auquel auraient été, au XIIIème siècle, adaptées des paroles en langue d'oïl?

Ezio Levi, peu suspect de tendresse envers les musiciens (médiévaux du moins!) met en évidence l'incohérence et le fatras de leur production, eu égard à la délicatesse de Marie de France [12]. Il attire cependant l'attention sur un point de musicologie qui ne manque pas d'intérêt et qui aurait pu modifier favorablement l'opinion qu'il avait des ménestrels. Selon lui,

9 Edit. J. L. Weston et J. Bedier, *Tristan ménestrel,* in *Romania,* XXXV (1906) p. 497 ss.

10 Edit. Joséphine E. Vallerie, *Garin le Loheren,* Ann Arbor (Michigan), 1947.

11 Des témoins italiens (*Guittone d'Arrezzo*), provençaux (*Lanfranc Cigala*) montrent la popularité de ce timbre dans toute l'Europe courtoise.

12 art. cit. sup. note 7.

les deux vers les mieux frappés du récit de Marie proviendraient en effet d'une oeuvre musicale entendue par elle:

77 Bele amie, si est de nos
Ne vos sanz moi, ne moi sanz vos.

De même, deux vers français insérés dans le texte de Gottfried de Strasbourg, seraient un souvenir d'un lai antérieur:

19.217 Isôt ma drûe, Isot m'âmie
En vûs ma mort, en vûs ma vie!

dont l'existence serait confirmée par une allusion de Thomas d'Angleterre:

1.061 Co est la reïne s'amie
En cui est sa mort et sa vie

Le problème serait pratiquement élucidé si ces vers se rencontraient dans le lai que nous éditons plus loin. Or, il n'en est rien. Le nom d'Yseut — délicatesse suprême? — n'y figure même pas. Tout au plus les vers 79-81:

Ja ne quier plus ens ma vie
De tos les biens ki i sont
Fors ke vostre amor, amie,

figureraient sans trop pâlir auprès des précédents. Hormis le salut d'amour initial [13] et l'explication sommaire du symbole du chèvrefeuille, le lai entier consiste essentiellement en protestations d'attachement de Tristan à Yseut.

Gottfried complique par ailleurs le problème. Alors que Marie de France, Thomas, et lui-même, insistent sur la beauté du lai de Tristan, nous comprenons, au vers 19215 de *Tristan und Isolde* que la "revirade" *Isot ma drûe* . . . appartiendrait à une chansonnette (*liedelîn*), voire à un rondeau (*rundate*) dont elle serait vraisemblablement le refrain. Ceci impliquerait l'existence d'un véritable cycle du Chèvrefeuille, à l'origine duquel serait un lai primitif en langue d'oïl. Le roman en prose, qui pourrait fournir quelque lumière, ne fait aucune allusion au lai du Chèvrefeuille [14]. Le lai connu est, de toute façon, nettement postérieur à la composition de Marie, tout du moins en ce qui concerne le texte [15].

13 cf. Paul Meyer, *Le salut d'amour dans la littéraire provençale et française,* Paris, 1867.

14 Dans cette oeuvre, Tristan exilé chante un *Lai de plour* que nous avons édité partiellement à la suite de notre article *Le lai lyrique et la tradition celtique,* in *Ar Falz,* XVIII (1956), p. 61. — Cf. également Jeanne Lods, *Les parties lyriques du Roman de Tristan en prose,* in BBSIA, VII (1955) pp. 73 ss.

15 Ceci a été établi par Ernest Hoeppfner, *Les deux lais du Chèvrefeuille,* in *Mélanges Laumonier,* Paris (1935) pp. 41-49.

La transcription ci-dessous n'aspire qu'à être utile aux amateurs de musique médiévale. Elle a été réalisée d'après les manuscrits connus:

— Paris, B.N. fr. 12.615, *Chansonnier de Noailles,* sigle T, f° 66.

— Paris, B.N. fr. 844, *Chansonnier du Roi,* sigle M, f° 212.

— Berlin, collection particulière du Pr. Dr. Ferdinand Wolf, sigle z, f° 2.

T donne le texte littéraire intégral; la musique n'est notée entièrement que pour les seules strophes I et XI. Ne figure que l'incipit des autres strophes, les vers suivants utilisant constamment les mêmes incises [16]. Dans ce manuscrit, nous lisons en guise de rubrique: *Li lais du kievrefoel.* La coda de la strophe I (deux dernières mesures, sur le mot *acuel*) utilise la même mélodie que le manuscrit z.

z est un fragment mutilé qui a fait l'objet d'une étude détaillée de Friedrich Gennrich [17]. Ce manuscrit donne le lai jusqu'au vers 52 inclus.

M ne donne, par suite de mutilation [18] que les onze dernières syllabes du poème avec leur notation.

Un quatrième manuscrit, Berne, Bibliothèque municipale 389 (sigle C), donne le texte littéraire seul, aux folios 187 ss. On y lit la rubrique *Tristans.*

Le *Lai du Chèvrefeuille* a déjà fait l'objet de plusieurs éditions:

a) texte seul: C. Bartsch, *Chrestomathie de l'ancien français,* 175. — H. von der Hagen, *Minnesänger* IV, 579.

b) texte et mélodie: A. Jeanroy et Pierre Aubry, *Lais et descorts français du XIIIème siècle,* Paris (1901), n° XXII pp. 53-55 (texte) et 132-135 (musique). La musique est éditée en notation carrée.

c) texte et transcription de la mélodie: Friedrich Gennrich, *Zwei altfranzösische Lais, Studi Medievali* XV (1942), pp. 40-49. Cette transcription, basée sur les trois manuscrits précités, est parfois déroutante en ce qui concerne la prosodie [19].

Nous n'avons en aucune façon la prétention de donner ici une transcription meilleure que celle de Friedrich Gennrich. La notation du Lai du Chèvrefeuille n'est pas mesurée; la seule édition qui pourrait échapper à la critique serait en notes carrées, comme celles de Aubry citée plus haut.

16 Voir notes explicatives à la fin.

17 *Zwei altfranzösische Lais,* in *Studi medievali* XV (1942) pp. 1-63. Voir aussi L. Dittmer, *Eine Zentrale Quelle der Notre-Dame Musik,* New York (1959), 19, 79 f and 266 with transcription.

18 cf. Jean & Louise Beck, *Le Manuscrit du Roi,* Philadelphie (1938), II.

19 Au sujet des transcriptions en général, voir Armand Machabey, *Problèmes de notation musicale,* in *Mélanges István Frank,* Sarrebruck (1957) p. 368. — Armand Machabey, *Compendium des notations médiévales proportionnelles,* Paris, Institut de Musicologie, 1956. — Jacques Chailley, *Une nouvelle théorie sur la transcription des chansons de trouveurs,* in *Romania* (1957) pp. 533-538.

Il serait encore possible de tout transcrire en valeurs égales, selon la méthode d'Ugo Sesini. Cependant, l'amateur de musique n'y trouverait guère son compte, et se lasserait rapidement d'un débit de syllabes isochrones d'une durée totale de plus de vingt minutes. Nous avons donc adopté, dans un but pratique, le système des modes rythmiques, qui paraît d'ailleurs s'imposer dans les strophes II à X, tout en l'assouplissant comme l'ont préconisé Mgr Higini Anglès, Heinrich Husman, et notre maître Jacques Chailley [20]. Puisqu'il ne s'agit pas ici de "disséquer un cadavre, mais de ressusciter un chef d'oeuvre", nous ajouterons qu'une doublure instrumentale de la voix ne nous paraît en aucune façon devoir être rejetée: les textes médiévaux, nous l'avons vu, attestent cet accompagnement, joué notamment à la vièle à archet. Les "colorations" de la partie d'accompagnement sont plausibles si elles sont faites avec circonspection [21].

La lecture de la mélodie suggère un agogique souple que l'interprète sentira facilement. Par exemple, les strophes IV-V sont d'un mouvement beaucoup plus rapide, plus fièvreux dirons nous, que les autres.

Le schéma strophique du Lai du Chèvrefeuille est remarquable [22]. Il offre un démenti flagrant aux assertions de Hugo Kuhn, selon lequel seuls les leiche offrent la perfection dans leur architecture [23]. Le voici, avec sa formule [24]:

20 cf. Jacques Chailley, art. cit. note 19 (p. 534).

21 Nous avons tenté d'appliquer au mieux ces principes dans l'enregistrement du lai que nous avons fait entendre lors du Vème congrès international des Sociétés arthuriennes, Bangor, 1957.

22 cf. appréciations de Hans Spanke, *Sequenz und Lai,* in *Studi Medievali,* XI (1938) pp. 40-41, — de Pierre Le Gentil, *La poèsie lyrique espagnole et portuguaise à la fin du Moyen-Age,* Rennes (1953), tome II, p. 15 note 7.

23 In *Minnesangs Wende,* Tübingen (1952) p. 97.

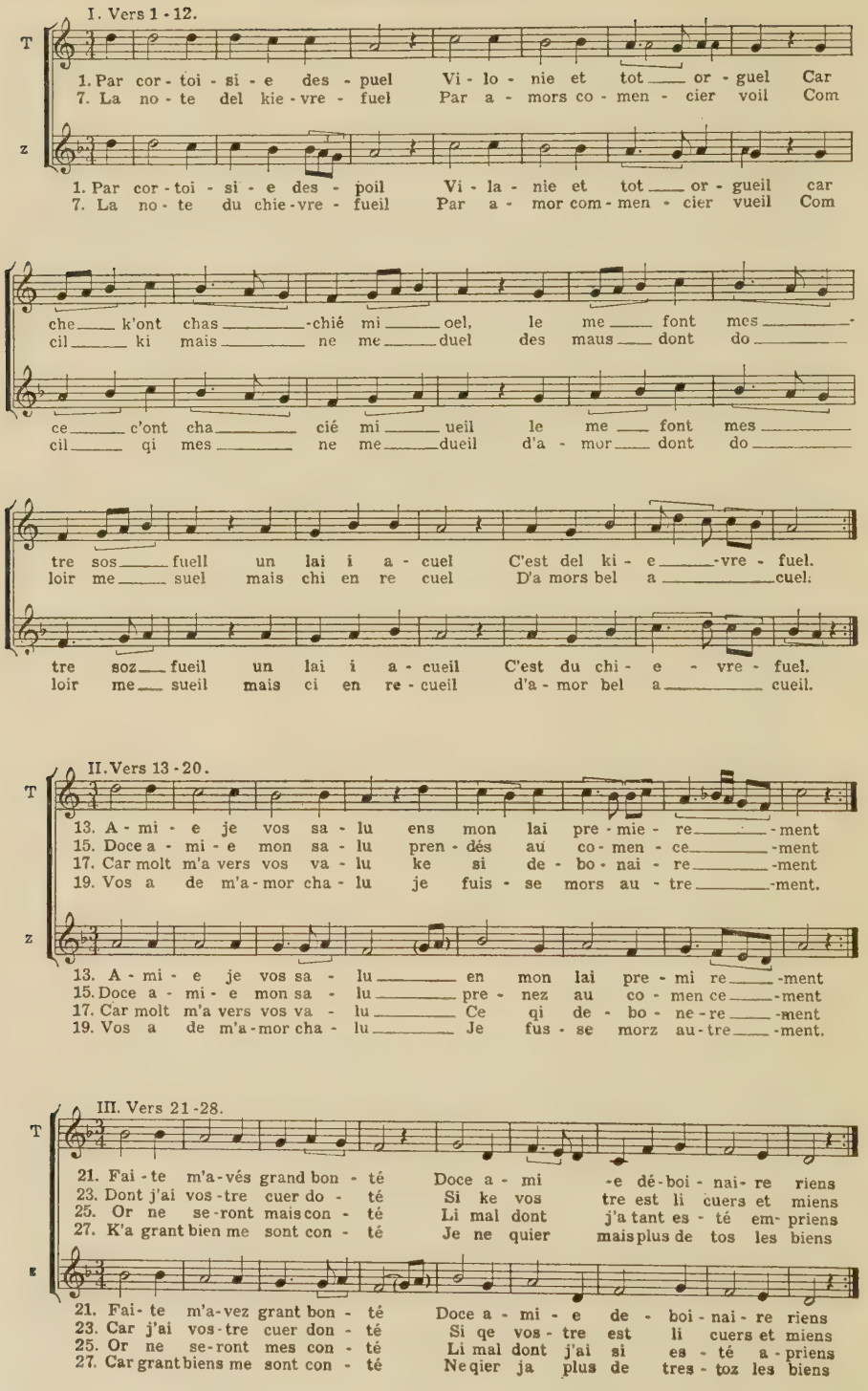
24 Les chiffres romains indiquent les strophes; les chiffres arabes le nombre de syllabes; la lettre romaine correspond à la rime indiquée à droite du tableau. Les lettres grecques désignent les incises mélodiques. — Nous reprenons au début de l'alphabet pour chaque strophe. — C'est de ce schéma que s'inspirent les *Plaintes de la Vierge au pied de la Croix* (Raynaud-Spanke 1093) en forme de lai.

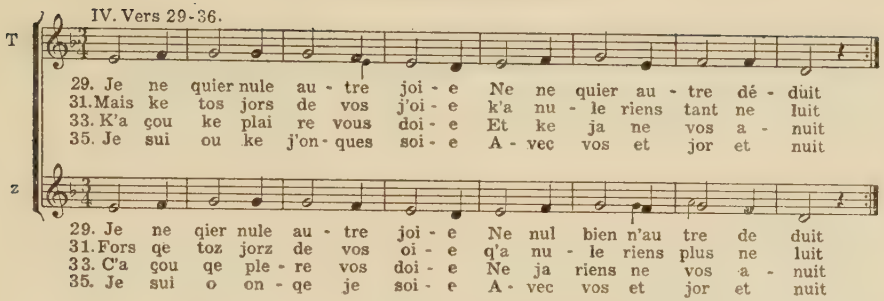
I.	α β 7a 7a	γ γ 7a 7a	δ ε 5a 5a		el.
	α β 7a 7a	γ γ 7a 7a	δ ε 5a 5a		
II.	α β 7a 7b	α β 7a 7b	α β 7a 7b	α β 7a 7b	alu, ement
III.	α β 7a 9b	α β 7a 9b	α β 7a 9b	α β 7a 9b	onté, iens
IV.	α β 7a 7b	α β 7a 7b	α β 7a 7b	α β 7a 7b	oie, uit
V.	α β 8a 6b	α β 8a 6b	α β 8a 6b	α β 8a 6b	partira, ie
VI.	α β 7a 5b	α β 7a 5b	α β 7a 5b	α β 7a 5b	ir, ende
VII.	α β 7a 7b	α β 7a 7b	α β 7a 7b	α β 7a 7b	oi, ort
VIII.	α β 7a 7b	α β 7a 7b	α β 7a 7b	α β 7a 7b	a, ous
IX.	α β 7a 7b	α β 7a 7b	α β 7a 7b	α β 7a 7b	ant, er
X.	α β 7a 7b	α β 7a 7b	α β 7a 7b	α β 7a 7b	ie, ont
XI.	α β 7a 7a	γ γ 7a 7a	δ ε 5b 5b		aus, ais
	z η 7a 7a	γ θ 7a 7a	δ′ ε′ 5b 5b		

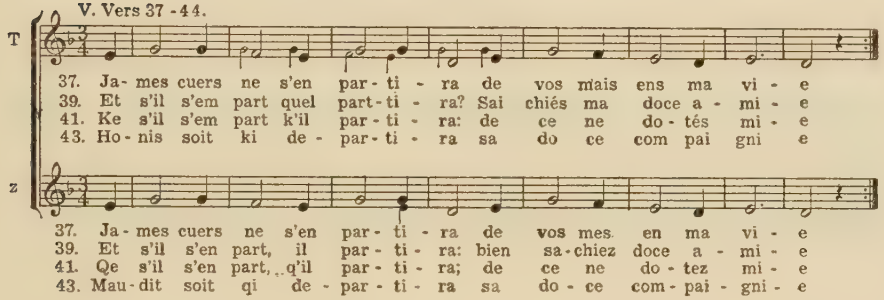
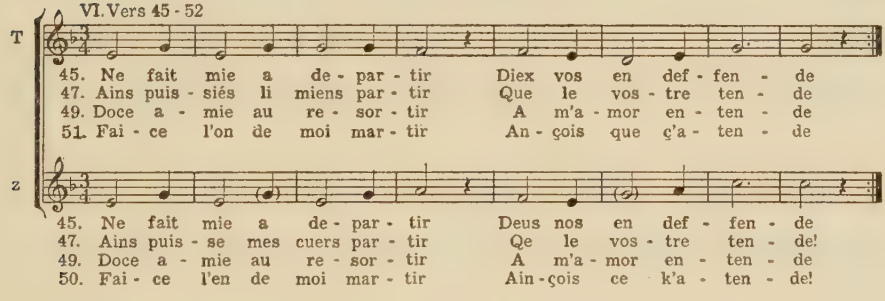
Formule:

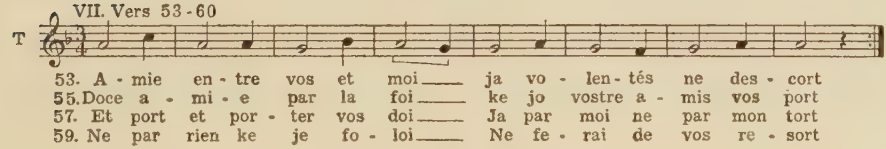
I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI
2A	4B	4C	4B	4D	4E	4B	4B	4B	4B	(2A)
6	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	6

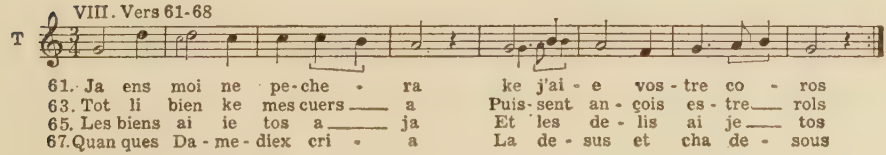
Les incises mélodiques de II et III sont très voisines dans z.

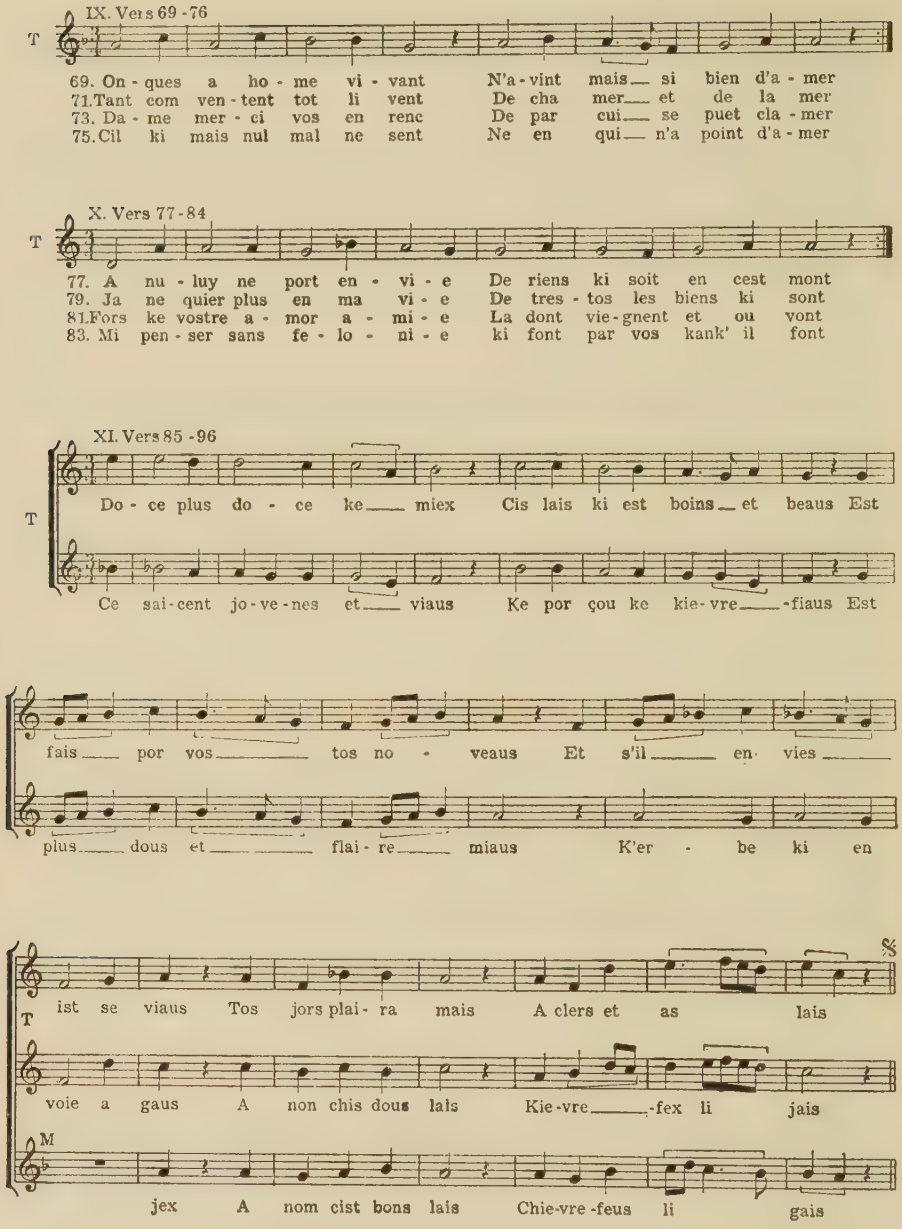
Fontainebleau, Juillet 1959

I. Vers 1 - 12.
T
z
1. Par cor - toi - si - e des - puel Vi - lo - nie et tot or - guel Car
7. La no - te del kie - vre - fuel Par a - mors co - men - cier voil Com
1. Par cor - toi - si - e des - poil Vi - la - nie et tot or - gueil car
7. La no - te du chie - vre - fueil Par a - mor com - men - cier vueil Com
che k'ont chas -chié mi oel, le me font mes
cil ki mais ne me duel des maus dont do
ce c'ont cha cié mi ueil le me font mes
cil qi mes ne me dueil d'a - mor dont do
tre sos fuell un lai i a - cuel C'est del ki - e -vre - fuel.
loir me suel mais chi en re cuel D'a mors bel a cuel.
tre soz fueil un lai i a - cueil C'est du chi - e - vre - fuel.
loir me sueil mais ci en re - cueil d'a - mor bel a cueil.
II. Vers 13 - 20.
T
z
13. A - mi - e je vos sa - lu ens mon lai pre - mie - re -ment
15. Doce a - mi - e mon sa - lu pren - dés au co - men - ce -ment
17. Car molt m'a vers vos va - lu ke si de - bo - nai - re -ment
19. Vos a de m'a - mor cha - lu je fuis - se mors au - tre -ment.
13. A - mi - e je vos sa - lu en mon lai pre - mi re -ment
15. Doce a - mi - e mon sa - lu pre - nez au co - men ce -ment
17. Car molt m'a vers vos va - lu Ce qi de - bo - ne - re -ment
19. Vos a de m'a - mor cha - lu Je fus - se morz au - tre -ment.
III. Vers 21 - 28.
T
z
21. Fai - te m'a - vés grand bon - té Doce a - mi -e dé - boi - nai - re riens
23. Dont j'ai vos - tre cuer do - té Si ke vos tre est li cuers et miens
25. Or ne se - ront mais con - té Li mal dont j'a tant es - té em - priens
27. K'a grant bien me sont con - té Je ne quier mais plus de tos les biens
21. Fai - te m'a - vez grant bon - té Doce a - mi - e de - boi - nai - re riens
23. Car j'ai vos - tre cuer don - té Si qe vos - tre est li cuers et miens
25. Or ne se - ront mes con - té Li mal dont j'ai si es - té a - priens
27. Car grant biens me sont con - té Ne qier ja plus de tres - toz les biens


IV. Vers 29-36.
T
29. Je ne quier nule au - tre joi - e Ne ne quier au - tre dé - duit
31. Mais ke tos jors de vos j'oi - e k'a nu - le riens tant ne luit
33. K'a çou ke plai re vous doi - e Et ke ja ne vos a - nuit
35. Je sui ou ke j'on - ques soi - e A - vec vos et jor et nuit
z
29. Je ne qier nule au - tre joi - e Ne nul bien n'au tre de duit
31. Fors qe toz jorz de vos oi - e q'a nu - le riens plus ne luit
33. C'a çou qe ple - re vos doi - e Ne ja riens ne vos a - nuit
35. Je sui o on - qe je soi - e A - vec vos et jor et nuit


V. Vers 37-44.
T
37. Ja- mes cuers ne s'en par - ti - ra de vos mais ens ma vi - e
39. Et s'il s'em part quel part - ti - ra? Sai chiés ma doce a - mi - e
41. Ke s'il s'em part k'il par - ti - ra: de ce ne do - tés mi - e
43. Ho - nis soit ki de - par - ti - ra sa do ce com pai gni e
z
37. Ja - mes cuers ne s'en par - ti - ra de vos mes en ma vi - e
39. Et s'il s'en part, il par - ti - ra: bien sa - chiez doce a - mi - e
41. Qe s'il s'en part, q'il par - ti - ra; de ce ne do - tez mi - e
43. Mau - dit soit qi de - par - ti - ra sa do - ce com - pai - gni - e

VI. Vers 45-52
T
45. Ne fait mie a de - par - tir Diex vos en def - fen - de
47. Ains puis - siés li miens par - tir Que le vos - tre ten - de
49. Doce a - mie au re - sor - tir A m'a - mor en - ten - de
51. Fai - ce l'on de moi mar - tir An - çois que ç'a - ten - de
z
45. Ne fait mie a de - par - tir Deus nos en def - fen - de
47. Ains puis - se mes cuers par - tir Qe le vos - tre ten - de!
49. Doce a - mie au re - sor - tir A m'a - mor en - ten - de
50. Fai - ce l'en de moi mar - tir Ain - çois ce k'a - ten - de!


VII. Vers 53-60
T
53. A - mie en - tre vos et moi ja vo - len - tés ne des - cort
55. Doce a - mi - e par la foi ke jo vostre a - mis vos port
57. Et port et por - ter vos doi Ja par moi ne par mon tort
59. Ne par rien ke je fo - loi Ne fe - rai de vos re - sort


VIII. Vers 61-68
T
61. Ja ens moi ne pe - che - ra ke j'ai - e vos - tre co - ros
63. Tot li bien ke mes cuers a Puis - sent an - çois es - tre rols
65. Les biens ai ie tos a ja Et les de - lis ai je tos
67. Quan ques Da - me - diex cri - a La de - sus et cha de - sous


IX. Vers 69-76
T
69. On - ques a ho - me vi - vant N'a - vint mais si bien d'a - mer
71. Tant com ven - tent tot li vent De cha mer et de la mer
73. Da - me mer - ci vos en renc De par cui se puet cla - mer
75. Cil ki mais nul mal ne sent Ne en qui n'a point d'a - mer
X. Vers 77-84
T
77. A nu - luy ne port en - vi - e De riens ki soit en cest mont
79. Ja ne quier plus en ma vi - e De tres - tos les biens ki sont
81. Fors ke vostre a - mor a - mi - e La dont vie - gnent et ou vont
83. Mi pen - ser sans fe - lo - ni - e ki font par vos kank' il font
XI. Vers 85-96
T
Do - ce plus do - ce ke miex Cis lais ki est boins et beaus Est
Ce sai - cent jo - ve - nes et viaus Ke por çou ke kie - vre - fiaus Est
fais por vos tos no - veaus Et s'il en - vies
plus dous et flai - re miaus K'er - be ki en
T
ist se viaus Tos jors plai - ra mais A clers et as lais
voie a gaus A non chis dous lais Kie - vre - fex li jais
M
jex A nom cist bons lais Chie - vre - feus li gais

I. 7 T ce vers manque, ainsi que la notation 8 z la dernière syllabe manque 9 z La première syllabe et sa note manquent 10 z lacune des lettres centrales de *doloir,* ainsi que de la note fa 11 z ce vers manque ainsi que toute la mélodie sauf la première note. — La mélodie de *acuel* (dernier mot de la strophe) est celle de z pour le ms T: nous n'avons pas noté la variante dans T pour éviter la confusion de lecture.

II. 14 z il manque *-ns mon lai pre-* et les notes correspondantes. — Dans T, la mélodie n'est notée que jusqu'à la seconde syllabe du troisième vers.

III. 21 z manquent les trois premières notes; seule figure l'initiale de *Faite* 23 z les deux premières notes manquent. 25 z lacune de *ie* dans *soient,* et de *més.* — Dans T, la notation s'arrête à la seconde syllabe du vers 23.

IV. 33 z manque *a çou* 35 z manque *onqe.* Dans T, la mélodie n'est notée que pour les trois premiers vers.

V. 38 z lacune *més en ma* 41 z lacune *s'il s'en part q'il par-* 42 z lacune *de ce* 44 z lacune *sa douce.* Dans T, la mélodie est notée jusque la première syllabe de 40.

VI. 45 z lacunes *ne* et *mie* 47 z lacunes *Ains puisse mes* et *partir* 51-52 z lacunes *-rtir ainçois q-.* Le manuscrit z s'achève au vers 52 inclus. Dans T, notation jusqu'à 47 inclus.

VII. T noté jusque vers 56, quatrième syllabe. — 56 T *ke je doi v.*

VIII. T noté jusque 64, troisième syllabe. 64 Les autres mss donnent *rous* au lieu de *rols* 66 T *aie tos.*

IX. T noté jusque 71.

X. T noté jusque 79.

ANOTHER LOOK AT THE MONTPELLIER ORGANUM TREATISE *

FRED BLUM

Although the anonymous organum treatise from Montpellier, *Faculté de médecine* H 384, folios 122-23, was reprinted by Jacques Handschin in the *Festschrift für Guido Adler* [1], Lincoln Spiess [2] and Gustave Reese [3] are among the few scholars who refer to it. The treatise dates from the early twelfth century, but describes an eleventh-century style. It is of interest because it 1) defines and describes the organum of the period, 2) advocates a system of composition roughly analogous to the organum "modes" of the *Ad organum faciendum,* 3) gives instructions for constructing cadences, 4) gives the major and minor third and sixth *theoretical* recognition as *consonances* for the first time, and 5) provides brief didactic examples illustrating its doctrine. Discussion of this treatise leads to a reconsideration of the relation between medieval musical theory and practice.

The definition of organum in the Montpellier Treatise is virtually identical to that of the slightly earlier *Ad organum faciendum* [4]. According to the Montpellier Treatise, "Organum is a voice immediately following a preceding voice at the fourth or fifth. These, namely the preceding and following voices, join in some acceptable consonance" (paragraph 1). The terms "preceding" and "following" voices, of course, refer to the *cantus prius factus* and *vox organalis,* respectively [5]. It is not necessary to dwell

* Read to a meeting of the Midwest Chapter, American Musicological Society, in Ann Arbor, Michigan, on November 23, 1958.

1 "Der Organum-Traktat von Montpellier", in *Studien zur Musikgeschichte: Festschrift für Guido Adler zum 75. Geburtstag* (Wien, 1930), pp. 50-57; Latin text, pp. 50-51; examples, p. 57.

2 Lincoln B. Spiess, *Polyphony in Theory and Practice from the Ninth Century to the Close of the Thirteenth Century,* 3 vols. (Harvard University dissertation, 1942; rev. 1947), Vol. I, pp. 110, 130 ff., and 204.

3 Gustave Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1940), p. 262.

4 The *Ad organum faciendum,* according to the text of Charles Edmond Henri de Coussemaker, *Histoire de l'harmonie au moyen âge* (Paris, 1852), p. 230, reads: "Organum est vox sequens praecedentem sub celeritate diapente et diatessaron; quarum videlicet praecedentis et subsequentis fit copula aliqua decenti consonantia". Cf. Montpellier Treatise, paragraph 1.

5 See Coussemaker, *ibid.,* p. 230, note 2.

on this definition of organum as a two-voiced composition, in which an organal voice is added to a principal voice at the intervals of a fourth or fifth.

A subsequent enigmatic passage, however, has made it difficult to determine whether the *vox organalis* is to be added above, below, or either above or below at the discretion of the organizer. This same passage also obscures the Anonymous' views regarding voice-crossing. To review the history of the problem: the earliest treatise on medieval polyphony, including the *Musica* and *Scholia enchiriadis* and Guido's *Micrologus,* placed the *vox organalis* below the *vox principalis* in simple organum. Only exceptionally, in certain forms of the *Enchiriadis'* composite organum, possibly in the *organum inferius* of the Paris Treatise, and in the *organum supra vocem* described (but not advocated) by Guido, did the organal part or its octave duplication sound above the principal voice. In these treatises voice-crossing normally resulted from the restriction of the *tritus, i.e.,* avoidance of the augmented fourth and diminished fifth. According to the *De musica* attributed to John Cotton (or to Johannes Affligemensis), the organal voice could be added above or below, with the voices crossing freely. The *Ad organum faciendum,* prototype of the Montpellier Treatise, established the normal arrangement of voices for the subsequent period, with the organal voice above. Although the *Ad organum faciendum* permits voice-crossing, crossing occurs in less than ten per cent of the intervals in the examples from the treatise itself and the examples immediately preceding the treatise in the same manuscript. On the basis of this historical development, the Montpellier Anonymous might be expected to add the *vox organalis* above the principal voice and to permit even freer voice-crossing. The relevant enigmatic passage in the Montpellier Treatise reads: "On whatever note the cantus may begin, the organizer should be on the same note, or on the octave *above or below,* or on the fifth or the fourth, sometimes on the third or sixth" (paragraph 4; cf. paragraph 2). Handschin thinks that this passage is ambiguous: "Regrettably, it is not clear if this aims at occasional voice-crossing . . ., or if the author means that the organal voice could be added below just as well as above" [6]. Reese, in his only reference to the Montpellier Treatise, follows Handschin in remarking: "A passage in a little 12th-century tract at Montpellier is capable of being interpreted as indicating that the *vox organalis* may be added either above or below the *vox principalis,* but does not entirely clinch the matter" [7].

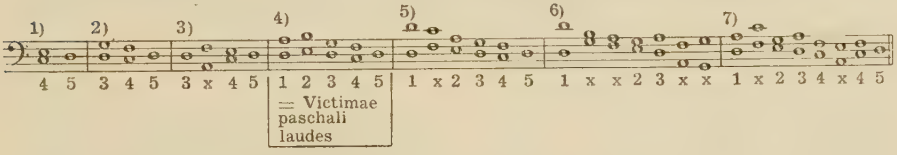
Despite Handschin's hesitation on the point, the lower voice of the Montpellier examples is a *cantus prius factus,* and therefore the *vox prin-*

6 Handschin, *op. cit.,* p. 52.

7 Reese, *op. cit.,* p. 262.

cipalis [8]. The setting of the text "Amen" in Example 4 from the Montpellier Treatise is identical with the setting of the same word in the Easter Sequence, *Victimae paschali laudes* (*Graduale Romanum,* p. 242). (Another identical passage, in the Whitsunday Sequence, *Veni sancte spiritus,* probably belongs to a later period). In the example given below, the five notes which set the word "Amen" in the *Victimae paschali laudes* (= the lower voice of Montpellier Example 4) are numbered from one to five, respectively. The Montpellier examples utilize part or all of this source: Montpellier Example 1 uses only the last two notes, but Example 7 uses all five notes (repeating one) and two additional notes as well.

EXAMPLE: ANALYSIS OF THE MONTPELLIER EXAMPLES [9]



x = variant notes

The numbers 1 through 5 represent the five notes of the liturgical source.

Obviously, since the examples utilize the *cantus prius factus* in the lower voice, the *vox organalis* may be placed above the *vox principalis* in Montpellier style. But the statements from paragraphs 2 and 4, taken together with the corroborating evidence from the roughly contemporary Milan and Cotton treatises, indicate that the *vox organalis* could also be placed below. To suppose that these passages merely refer to "occasional" voice-crossing would be to show excessive timidity.

According to the method of organizing described by the Anonymous, each phrase (or *clausula*) consists of three parts: a beginning (*inceptio*), middle (organal section), and cadence (*copula*). The *inceptio* (if there be one) contains one note and the *copula* two, while the organal section consists of a variable number of notes, ranging from none to five according to the length of the phrase. Thus, in phrases of only two notes, "there is nothing but a cadence"; but in eight-note phrases, there is a one-note inceptio, a five-note organal section, and a two-note *copula*. As the fol-

8 Handschin, *op. cit.,* says, "The various 'Amen' are not necessarily of liturgical origin". In "L'organum à l'église," *La revue du chant grégorien,* XLI (1937), p. 42, he calls them *"ad hoc"*.

9 Professor Albert T. Luper of the State University of Iowa pointed out the liturgical source of the Montpellier examples to me. Incidentally, the variation technique used in the Montpellier examples may be contrasted to that used in Milan MS 17, where different organal voices appear against the same *vox principalis* in the *Benedicamus domino* and *Alleluia.*

lowing passage indicates, the Anonymous specifies which intervals are permitted in each section:

> Therefore, if anyone desires to compose organum, he should first select the two last notes of the phrase and correctly join them with the cantus, so that they come together with the cantus in some measure [from another direction?]. Next, he should put the first note of the organal voice, that is, the beginning, with the cantus, either below or above on the octave or on the unison, or on the fifth or on the fourth, and sometimes on the third or sixth. However, there will never be an organal note on the second or seventh from the cantus, because it sounds bad. Moreover, he should put the intermediate notes, which are between the first note and the last two pre-selected notes, on the fifth or third or sixth, but more often on the fourth or fifth, because it sounds better [10].

Thus, the *inceptio* may be a unison, octave, fourth or fifth, less often a third or sixth. Organal intervals are usually fourths or fifths, less often thirds or sixths, but *never* unisons or octaves. The cadence, however, must come to rest on a unison or octave.

This assignment of particular intervals to each division of the phrase resembles the familiar organum "modes" of the *Ad organum faciendum*. These will be called organal "species" in order to avoid confusion with the rhythmic or melodic "modes". The *inceptio* of the Montpellier Treatise corresponds to species 1 and 2 of the Milan Treatise, which assign intervals of a unison, octave, fourth or fifth, but *not* of a third or sixth, to the initial note. The organal section resembles species 3 and 4, which permit intermediate intervals of fourths or fifths, but again, not thirds or sixths. The Montpellier Anonymous offers nothing analogous to species 5, which apparently provides for several notes against one "through multiplication of the opposite voice by augmentation or diminution" [11].

The Montpellier Treatise devotes considerable attention to the cadence, which it refers to by the terms *copula, copulatio* and, probably by mistake, *clausula* [12]. Although "cadence" is a rather free rendition of "copula", it is certainly justified by the context. Thirds or fourths resolving to unisons,

10 Paragraph 2; cf. paragraph 4.

11 Coussemaker, *op. cit.*, p. 233, "Quintus per multiplicationem oppositarum vocum, augendo vel auferendo". See also Handschin, "Der Organum-Traktat von Montpellier", p. 52, and Spiess, *op. cit.*, pp. 116 f.

12 Handschin, *ibid.*, p. 51, substitutes "copula" for "clausula" directly in the text. "Clausula", often rendered "the end", "conclusion", or in rhetoric, "close of a period", appears to be best rendered "phrase" in the Montpellier Treatise.

and sixths resolving to octaves, are the favored cadences in the examples. Fifths resolving to either unisons or octaves are theoretically possible, but do not occur in the examples. All cadences in the examples are taken by contrary motion. The author recommends frequent cadencing. To the injunction that "phrases of more than eight notes will not be permitted" the author adds, "We should make neither too many nor too few cadences" [13]. Of course, many of the intermediate cadences which result from this rule have little structural import.

By his theoretical recognition of thirds and sixths as consonances, the Anonymous provides a striking departure from the doctrine of the *Ad organum faciendum*. This departure is the chief progressive feature in his otherwise conservative note-against-note style. A brief summary of the gradual acceptance of thirds and sixths by theorists will provide the background for a discussion of this feature of the Montpellier Treatise. The *Musica* and *Scholia enchiriadis* permitted thirds only in order to avoid the tritone. Thirds, treated as dissonances, took the form of passing tones caused by the ascent or descent of the *vox principalis* above a stationary *vox organalis,* particularly at the *levatio* or *positio* (*i.e.,* the beginning or cadence). Sixths, regarded as beyond the range of normal organum, occurred only as inversions of thirds, resulting from doubling of either voice in composite organum of the *diatessaron*. As Dr. Spiess's transcriptions show, the author of the Paris Treatise used thirds for about one-fourth of the intervals in his examples [14]. But theoretically he regarded them as dissonances resulting from the restriction of the *tritus*. Of course, he used no sixths. Guido, who admitted thirds to his organum, advocated mixing the intervals. Nevertheless, although he used thirds approximately fifteen per cent of the time in his examples of free organum, he treated them as dissonances. In modern terms, they may be analyzed as passing tones, free passing tones, or returning notes resolving, directly or indirectly, to unisons (rarely to fourths). Guido did not admit the sixth. Even the author of the *Ad organum faciendum,* who thought that the *major* third sounded like a "dulcis fistula", used thirds only three per cent of the time, always as dissonances requiring resolution to unisons, or in just two instances, to fifths. The examples of the *Ad organum faciendum,* excluding varients which probably date from the thirteenth century, do not contain a single sixth [15].

13 See paragraph 4 and the last sentence of the Treatise.

14 Spiess, *op. cit.,* pp. 15-16, transcribes the examples from the Paris Treatise (*Bib. nat. cod. lat.* 7202, ff. 50-56v). On pp. 23 f. he notes the difference between the theory and practice of this treatise, especially regarding the use of thirds.

15 Eric Steinhard, "Zur Frühgeschichte der Mehrstimmigkeit", *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft,* III (1921), pp. 220-31, prints variants to the Milan MS from Berlin State Library *Cod. theol. lat.* 4°, 261, ff. 48-51v. See Handschin, "Der Organum-Traktat von Montpellier", p. 50, note 2, concerning the date of the Berlin MS.

The Montpellier Anonymous, however, not only allows thirds *and sixths* to be used as passing dissonances, but even advocates their use *as initial and organal consonances*. His penultimate example illustrates the use of a chain of thirds. As the following table indicates, thirds and sixths provide more than twenty per cent of the intervals in the Montpellier examples.

TABLE: VERTICAL INTERVALS IN THE EXAMPLES

	Initial	Organal	Penultimate	Final	Total
Fourths	1	4	4	0	9
Fifths	2	6	0	0	8
Unisons	1	0	0	6	7
Thirds	1	4	2	0	6*
Octaves	2	0	0	1	3
Sixths	0	1	1	0	2
Total	7	15	7	7	35*

Although this use of thirds and sixths far outstrips that of contemporary theoretical treatises, it bears close resemblance to at least one contemporary practical source, Chartres MS 109. Two-part alleluias in similar note-against-note style from that manuscript utilize thirds more than one-fourth of the time. Twenty-five of the sixty-seven thirds appear in chains, seven chains of three consecutive thirds and one of four consecutive thirds. Most commentators express surprise at this predilection for a "dissonant" interval. They would do well to realize that at least some of these thirds are treated as consonances, after the fashion of our Anonymous' theory. Hughes, who reprints and discusses the Chartres examples, concludes: "The result of this analysis shows that the actual music of the eleventh century at Chartres at any rate was considerably different from what we have been taught to expect from the descriptions of the theorists" [16]. But Hughes apparently ignores the Montpellier Treatise, which he does not mention, either in his text or bibliography. Had he taken its discussion of thirds and sixths into account, he might not have found such an immeasurable gap between theory and practice!

State University of Iowa

* The initial interval of Ex. 1 is also a penultimate interval.

16 Dom Anselm Hughes, "The Birth of Polyphony", in *Early Medieval Music Up to 1300* (*The New Oxford History of Music,* Vol. II) (London, 1954), p. 285. The examples and discussion begin on p. 282.

MONTPELLIER ORGANUM TREATISE [1]

(Fac. de méd. H 384)

1. Diaphonia duplex cantus est; cuius talis est diffinitio. Organum est vox sequens praecedentem sub celeritate diatessaron vel diapente. Quarum, scil. praecedentis et sequentis vocis fit copula aliqua decenti consonantia.

Diaphony is two-part song; that is its definition. Organum [2] is a voice [3] immediately following [4] a preceding [voice] at the fourth or fifth. These, namely the preceding and following voices, join in some acceptable consonance.

2. Si quis ergo organum componere desiderat, duas ultimas voces clausulae prius eligat et eas competenter cum cantu iungat, ut ex alia parte cum cantu veniant. Postea primam vocem organi, i.e. inceptionem ponat cum cantu vel inferius in diapason vel superius vel in eadem vel in quinta vel in quarta, aliquando et in tertia vel sexta. In secunda autem vel septima voce a cantu nunquam erit organum quia male sonat.

Therefore, if anyone desires to compose organum, he should first select the two last notes of the phrase and correctly join them with the cantus, so that they come together with the cantus in some measure [from another direction?]. Next, he should put the first note of the organal voice, that is, the beginning, with the cantus, either below or above on the octave or on the unison, or on the fifth or on the fourth, and sometimes on the third or sixth. However, there will never be an organal note on the second or seventh from the cantus, because it sounds bad.

1 See note 1 above.

2 Apparently the "diaphonia" of the first sentence and the "organum" of the second are more or less synonomous, although the latter refers more specifically to the newly-composed organal voice as opposed to the *cantus prius factus*. See Reese, *ibid.*, p. 268, concerning synonymous use of these terms elsewhere.

3 "Vox" is sometimes best rendered "voice", more often "note", only rarely "interval".

4 See note 5 above.

Medias autem voces inter primam et ultimas duas praeelectas ponat in quinta vel tertia vel sexta; sed frequentius in quarta vel quinta, quia pulchrius sonat.

Moreover, he should put the intermediate notes, [which are] between the first [note] and the last two preselected [notes], on the fifth or third or sixth, but more often on the fourth or fifth, because it sounds better.

3. Aliquando pro D, E, F quae sunt finales accipimus a, b, c causa necessitatis, quia D ditonum non habet descendendo quem habet sua affinis a. Finalis vox sic notet principium, quasi aliquis colorum esset ductus a finali usque ad principium.

Sometimes, for *D, E,* and *F,* which are finals, we substitute *a, b,* and *c,* by necessity, since *D* does not have the major third below it which *a,* its confinal, has [5]. Thus the final note should mark out the beginning, just as if something of the colors [modal character?] had been drawn from the cadence up to the beginning [6].

4. In quacumque voce cantus incipiat, organizator sit in eadem [vel in diapason] [7] superius vel inferius vel in quinta vel in quarta, aliquando in tertia vel sexta. His modis organizator cantum sequatur, donec cum illo iungatur.

On whatever note the cantus may begin, the organizer should be on the same [note], [or on the octave] [7] above or below, or on the fifth or the fourth, sometimes the third or sixth. The organizer should follow the cantus in these ways, until he is joined by it.

Sed quando voluerit, cum cantu copulare poterit; sed clausulam ultra octo voces ire non licet. In ultimis autem duabus vocibus na-

But whenever he wishes, he can join with the cantus; however, a phrase is not permitted to go beyond eight notes. On the last

5 This passage advocates the substitution, *causa necessitatis,* of certain confinals for finals. The exact nature of the *causa necessitatis* is by no means clear. The Anonymous seems to state that the substitution in *proteus* is due to the minor third (*d* to *b*-natural) below the final. Why is the minor third unsatisfactory? And why does this justify the substitution of confinal *b* for final *E* (since major third *E-C* lies below the latter) and confinal *c* for final *F* (since minor thirds lie beneath both)?

6 Perhaps this obscure passage means that since the final determines the mode, it also establishes the "ethos" or "color" of the melody. Thus, the color of the entire melody is derived from the final.

7 This insertion after Handschin, *ibid.,* p. 51, note, by analogy to paragraph 2.

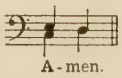
turam non consideret, sed, ut aptius poterit, cum cantu copulet.

two notes, moreover, he should not consider nature [i.e., the natural organal interval], but should join with the cantus as well as he can.

5. Si duae tantum sint voces in clausula, non nisi copulatio est ibi, ut:

C E E D
A - MEN A - MEN

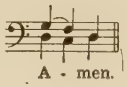
If only two notes are in a phrase, there is nothing but a cadence [8], for example [9]:



Si tres voces, inceptio et copulatio, ut:

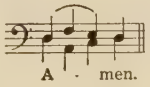
DC D GF D
A - MEN A - MEN

If three notes, [there is nothing but] a beginning and a cadence, for example:

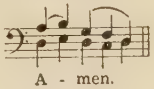


Si quatuor, est ibi inceptio et una vox organalis et clausula [copula] [10], ut:

DAC D DFE D
A - MEN A - MEN

If four, there is a beginning, one organal note and a cadence [10], for example:

Si quinque, est ibi inceptio et duae voces organales et clausula [copula] [10], ut:

DE DCD ab GFD
A - MEN A - MEN

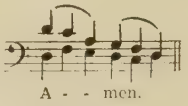
If five, there is a beginning, two organal notes and a cadence [10], for example:

8 At this point we shift from the more literal rendition of "copula" and "copulatio" as "junction" to the more descriptive rendition of these terms as "cadence".

9 The examples after Handschin, *ibid.*, p. 57. The letter notation is the familiar system employed by Oddo and Guido, among others.

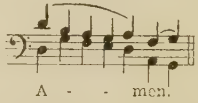
10 See note 12 above.

Si sex, est ibi principium et tres organales et copula, ut:

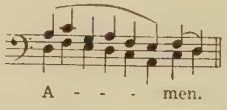
DFE DCD dca GFD
A - MEN A - MEN

If six, there is a beginning, three organal notes and a cadence, for example:

Si septem, est ibi principium et quatuor organales et duae quae copulantur, ut:

DGFED AΓ dbaGa FG
A - MEN A - MEN

If seven, there is a beginning, four organal notes and two which cadence, for example:

Si vero sint octo, est inceptio quae semper est cum cantu [in eadem vel in diapason] [11] vel in quarta vel in quinta, aliquando et sexta vel tertia, ut superius dictum est, et sunt quinque organales quae semper sunt in quinta vel quarta vel tertia vel sexta et duae ultimae quarum penultima respicit cantum, ut ultima convenienter cum cantu iungatur. Nam considerandum est, ne taliter organales voces a cantu sequestrentur, ut ad cantum copula reverti nequeat. Et sic debet ordine fieri, quod nec nimis spissim nec nimis raro copulationes faciamus, sed examussim ac temperate omnia coniungamus. Ultimum exemplum, ut:

DFEDCa C D acGaFE F D
A - MEN A - MEN [12]

But if there are eight, there is a beginning which is always [on a unison or on the octave] [11] with the cantus, or on the fourth or on the fifth, sometimes either on the sixth or the third, as has been explained above; and there are five organal notes, which always are on the fifth or fourth or third or sixth; and [there are] two last notes, of which the penultimate takes the cantus into account, so that the last [note] may be agreeably joined with the cantus. For care should be taken not to separate the organal notes from the cantus so that a return to the cantus cannot be made at the cadence. And thus it ought to be done in an orderly manner, because we should make neither too many nor too few cadences, but we should join everything accurately and moderately. Thus the last example [12]:

11 This insertion after Handschin, *ibid.*, again by analogy.

12 Handschin, *ibid.*, correctly notes that the first *a* should read *A*.

THE POETIC FORM OF MACHAUT'S MUSICAL WORKS

I

THE BALLADES, RONDEAUX AND VIRELAIS

GILBERT REANEY

Abbreviations: Chich = V. Chichmaref, *Guillaume de Machaut: Poésies lyriques,* Paris and St. Petersburg, 2 vols, 1909.

Machaut has been esteemed in the past mainly for his formal qualities, but it now seems that this feature of his work has often been treated without due knowledge of the facts. It is clear that he was by no means the innovator that he has been considered. The lyric forms he made use of were already fully developed when he began to write. His chief role indeed seems to have been that of a leader. He showed which was the best road on which to travel, but invented little himself. Realising that the Ballade, Rondeau and Virelai forms were mature, Machaut laid down the rules for writing them by his examples in the *Remède de Fortune.* His pupil Deschamps became his disciple, as is evident from the rules he gives in the *Art de Dictier.* Deschamps quotes his master's ideas and gives several examples from his works. Machaut's role as a leader is also revealed by the words of the unknown author of a treatise of second rhetoric. *Après vint maistre Guillaume de Machault, le grant rhétorique de nouvelle fourme, qui commencha toutes tailles nouvelles, et les parfais lays d'amour* [1]. We know that Machaut did not invent the new forms, but he had the reputation of having done so. In other words he was responsible for drawing the attention of his contemporaries to the new forms which were at their disposal as well as his own.

In his *Proloque* Machaut says that he is moved to write *dis, chansonnettes, double hoqués, plaisans lais, motés, rondiaux, virelais qu'on claimme chansons baladées, complaintes, balades entées* [2]. It is interesting to note that he mentions *balades entées,* for it would suggest that, in the absence of mention of any other type of *balade,* this is the only kind he cultivates. Now this type of *balade* is built, as the word *enté* indicates, by taking a line or so from an earlier work and *grafting* new onto the borrowed

1 E. Langlois, *Recueil d'Arts de seconde rhétorique,* Paris, 1903, 12.
2 E. Hoepffner, *Oeuvres de Machaut* I, Paris, 1908, 6.

material. (This technique was, apparently, universal in the Middle Ages. For example, the motet, in its normal state, is usually based on a plainsong motif and scrap of text, upon which new material is conctructed). One of Machaut's Ballades is in fact known to be almost identical in text with one by Jehan de le Mote [3], and in this case it is almost certainly Machaut that borrowed from de le Mote.

In the *Art de Dictier* Deschamps advocated the division of a poem into sections [4]. This rule was obviously carefully observed by most fourteenth century writers in their short lyric poems. A good example is Machaut's Ballade *Je puis trop bien ma dame comparer* (Chich 1, CCIII). Usually the stanzas divide the material up into three sections. However, it is quite normal to divide an eight-line stanza into two subdivisions as Machaut does here. The construction is as follows. The two *Stollen* of the first stanza outline the subject, namely a comparison between Pygmalion's statue and the poet's own lady. The *Abgesang* plus refrain comments on the fact that, although Machaut's lady is made of flesh and blood, she will not speak to him any more than the statue replied to Pygmalion when he spoke to it. In stanza two the division is an unequal one of six lines plus two. This stanza develops the Pygmalion theme. Six lines tell of how, though the statue was inanimate, Pygmalion prayed to the gods, and it came to life and spoke to him sweetly. The last two lines of the stanza again clinch the argument with an expression of sorrow at the way Machaut's lady treats him. The third stanza consists of two distinct halves, each four lines in length. First a prayer that the personification of *Amour* may soften the heart of Machaut's beloved, and finally a pessimistic recollection that in reality *Amour* is against him. This last section is necessitated by the refrain which brings back again the idea that, though he incessantly begs her to relent, she will not reply one word.

While this Ballade is a short story in miniature, most of the earlier poems are less clear in structure. For instance, the poet is in a distant land, but he is so much in love that hope of seeing his lady keeps him happier than he could deserve in *cent mille ans*. This theme from the *Remède* Ballade is spread over its three stanzas (one sentence per stanza), though only in the final stanza is the idea that the poet is far away allowed to come forward. The first stanza is in much the same vein as the second, and the third just adds that extra little touch in conclusion. Care is of course needed, as always, with the refrain, which tends to dispel the idea of finality when it brings back an idea which has been already put

[3] E. Hoepffner, 'Die Balladen des Dichters Jehans de le Mote' in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie,* XXXV (1911), 163.

[4] E. Deschamps, *Oeuvres complètes* VII, ed. Queux de Saint-Hilaire and G. Raynaud, Paris, 1891,

forward twice. This tendency is noticeable in some of Machaut's poems, though he usually manages to evade the difficulty. An example where he does not is Ballade 29 (Chich 2, XXXII, XXXIII and XXXIX). In this case it is true that the same refrain has to do duty for three distinct Ballades; but even where the effect is satisfactory, and this is the case in most of the Ballades with music, it is evident that the refrain fits the first stanza the best. For example, in Chich 2, Ballade XX the flow of the verse in the first stanza is not interrupted till the last line, and the refrain follows logically, but in the other stanzas the flow is interrupted at the end of the sixth line, when an interpolation is necessary as a link to the refrain. The usual escape, however, is to use a refrain that has a general meaning, and will therefore fit any stanza, e.g. *quant j'aim la flour de toute créature* (Chich 2, Ballade III), *Tant com je vivray* (Chich 2, Ballade XIV), *mon cuer, m'amour et quanque je désir* (Chich 1, CLXXV), *se Fortune ne le tient à ami* (Chic 1, CLXXXVIII), etc. The use of popular refrains in Machaut's poems seems to be connected with the *balade entée* rather than with the fact that their general significance enables them to be used anywhere.

Two types of Ballade have been analysed. The non-developing type like Chich 2, XXXV, where each stanza is a repetition of the same ideas with new words, may be the earlier of the two. In a transitional type the ideas of the first and second stanzas are very much alike, but the final stanza puts forward something new, possibly the real point of the poem. Whether these three types are useful for establishing a chronology is difficult to decide. Development is an idea somewhat foreign to the Middle Ages, and so it is not surprising that it occurs usually in a somewhat embryonic manner. In the Ballades of Machaut it is rare to find a piece as highly developed as Chich 1, CCIII, but many transitional stages are traceable. Chich 1, XXXIX, for instance, expresses in its first stanza the poet's joy at his return, for he will see his love. The next stanza develops the theme by describing the beloved in idealistic terms. Finally the poet thanks God for his happiness, and says he will honour the one he loves.

Nes qu'on porroit (Chich 1, CCXXII) is a good example of the transitional stage. The first stanza, in typical medieval fashion, compares the immensity of the poet's desire to see his love to the number of stars in the sky, or the drops of rain and sea-water. The second stanza is divided into two sentences. In the first the poet groans because Fortune separates him from his beloved. The second is a complement to the first sentence, for it tells of the grief the poet undergoes when he is alone. The third stanza, like the second, is also divided into two sentences. In the first the poet sorrowfully recollects the person of his lady. The second sentence finally sees all hope extinguished. Here again there is little idea of deve-

lopment. The first stanza is simply a comparison, which indicates the extent of the poet's love. The stage is then set for four little scenes which illustrate different ways in which separation affects the poet. He is always sad, but in one case he is in society, in another alone, in another recollecting her sweet face, in another losing all hope. This then is a curious example of the medieval habit of juxtaposition, with a grain of development, a method not unusual in Machaut's poems. The final loss of hope seems to be a development, since similar effects occur in other poems in the final stanza.

Leaving the question of development, we have seen that Machaut divides his Ballades into sections which usually correspond to sentences. Sometimes one sentence is equal to one stanza, but the division of a stanza into two equal halves often occurs, frequently in the second stanza and most frequently in the third. A break in the sense is usually unnecessary in the first stanza where the refrain is dealt with for the first time. Over half the Ballades are of this type, and where a break is made in the middle of the first stanza, it usually serves a purpose. For instance, in Chich 2, XX *(De petit po)* there is a break before the exclamation *Lasse, dolente!* A full stop precedes the refrain in the modern edition, but a colon could equally well have been used.

When an eight-line stanza is not divided into two equal halves, it is often split up into a section of six lines followed by one of two. In this case the aim is obviously to facilitate the transition to the refrain.

The fourteen-line Ballade Chich 2, VI subdivides its stanzas in the same way as the eight-line works, i.e. there is a break either after the Stollen (second and third stanzas) or at the end of the second *ouvert* (halfway through the *Abgesang*-refrain section). The same remark applies to the twelve-line Ballade Chich 2, XXI, though here the first stanza is without a break. The second and third stanzas have a full stop in the modern edition half-way through the *Abgesang*-refrain section, but this could equally well be a colon or a semicolon. There is really no change in the sense but simply a lead-in to the refrain and hence a feeling of conclusion. The *baladelle* from the *Remède de Fortune,* another twelve-line work with *ouvert* and *clos* in both halves of the music, prompts very similar remarks.

The irregular Ballade Chich 2, XLV has stanzas sixteen lines long, of which the first has a clear break after the first half *(clos* 1). The second and third stanzas are fairly continuous, though minor breaks occur after even-numbered lines, e.g. line 5 in stanza 2 and line 6 in stanza 3.

As for the nine-line and seven-line Ballades, an equal subdivision is impossible, but even so any subdivision of a stanza is normally based on the sections formed by *Stollen, Abgesang* and refrain. For example, in the

seven-line Ballade Chich 2, I the break in stanzas 1 and 3 comes at the end of the *Stollen*, though in the second stanza it is delayed till the end of the fifth line. This apparent irregularity can be explained as follows: the fifth line is considered here as a unit replacing the two lines 5 and 6 of and eight-line stanza. A similar example occurs in the fifth line, first stanza, of Chich 2, Ballade III. The logic of this reasoning is more apparent when one realises that some seven-line Ballades have two-line refrains, e.g. Chich 2, XXXVII.

In the nine-line stanza of Chich 2, Ballade XV the *Stollen* amount to four lines, just as in the seven-line form. There two lines of the eight-line Ballade were so to speak condensed into one, but here we may assume the opposite, namely the expansion of lines 5 and 6 in the eight-line form to lines 5, 6 and 7 in the nine-line one. The unitary nature of this group is confirmed in Chich 2, Ballade XV by the full stops in the modern edition at the end of line 7 in stanzas 2 and 3, and in fact by the comma in stanza 1, while lines 5 and 6 remain unbroken by punctuation throughout.

The fourteenth century Rondeau form is capable of even less development than the Ballade. One reason for this is its brevity, but the most important reason is the constant return of the refrain. The triviality of the Rondeau was the cause of its ultimate abandonment, though in the Middle Ages delicate trifles were greatly admired, and besides Rondeaux were excellent for setting to music. The extremely short strophe accounts for the fact that most fourteenth century Rondeaux became vehicles for anagrams, word and rhyme play, and in fact any literary game. Especially was this true of the eight-line Rondeau. Longer Rondeaux like Chich 2, IX are less full of literary artifices and resemble some of the Ballades in style. Their elegance is not usually marred by cheap cleverness. They develop one thought, and thus their unity is perfect. Whatever the subject, whether it be adulation of the beloved, or some amorous question, there can be no digression.

The smaller Rondeaux are less interesting. The number anagrams follow a set pattern. The refrain gives the numbers, and the rest of the material is a play on words, usually amorous in nature, as in Chich 2, Rondeaux VI and XVI. Rondeaux XV, which has no music, and is differently constructed, can scarcely be called a number anagram, since in the true number anagram the numbers represent the respective letters of the alphabet, whereas here there is simply an injunction to remove the fifth letter from a word.

The eight-line Rondeaux which deal with love are less attractive than the longer ones, since they are more taken up with word and rhyme-play.

The Virelais are as long if not longer than many of the Ballades, and so should be capable of some development. Formally, however, they have

much in common with the Rondeau as well as with the Ballade, and the repetition of the extended refrain before the *Stollen* as well as after the *Abgesang* precludes much development. There is also more play with words in the Virelais than in the Ballades, owing to the shorter, mainly seven-syllable lines. Nevertheless the same type of development is used in both Virelais and Ballades. After all, both forms have three stanzas.

Let us examine, for instance Chich 2, Virelai IV, *Douce dame jolie*. The subject is typical of Machaut. The lady must not feel that the poet is in love with anyone else. The first stanza is a confession of lifelong love. The second stresses how strongly the poet is attached to his beloved. In the third comes the final touch so characteristic of Machaut's concluding stanzas. If the poet cannot receive the reward of true love he wishes to be forgotten, or asks the loved one to kill him, for he can go on no longer. The conventional demand that the lady shall kill her lover, or more normally simply the idea that he will die if his love is not returned (Chich 2, Virelais I, II, XXIII, XXIX, XXXI, Ballades II, IV and V) is a frequent climax in Machaut's lyric poems. It is true of course that the idea of death appears at other places in the Virelai than in the third stanza, but this is because it was a convention of the time to die for love, and there can be no doubt that it is used in the third stanza as a climax. In the poem in question the refrain fits into the rest of the verse to perfection. There is no sense of strain. Perhaps the reason is that there is no escaping the return of the refrain in the Virelai, whereas in the Ballades there are ways of getting round the difficulty.

There is little more to be said about the Virelai structure in general. The subject matter is very like that of the Ballades, if not quite as varied, and the poem is built up in the same way. Chich 2, Virelai X is interesting, because the first two stanzas do scarcely nothing but enumerate the qualities of the beloved. The final stanza is conclusive. If the lady wishes the poet to languish in amorous torments, he will endure it night and day without loving her any less. Chich 2, Virelai XV is a good example of a non-developing poem. One has just the shadow of a suspicion that the third stanza is the last, but it might well have taken the place of the second stanza. Chich 2, Virelai XIX, on the other hand, is developed from stanza to stanza, though the second stanza is only a slight development compared with the first, which concerns the lady's ability to give joy in everything. The second shows how all other graces are foul at the side of her. Then the concluding stanza reveals why the poem was written. After praising his beloved, the poet awaits his doom or his salvation at a word from her lips.

The question of the division of the stanza into sections is interesting, because the form demands a certain discipline which is not required in

the Ballade. The refrain is usually clearly separated from the rest of the stanza, though on one occasion the *Abgesang* leads into the refrain without a break (Chich 2, Virelai V, stanza 2). The *Stollen,* on the other hand, are at liberty to form subdivisions of their own, or the *Gegenstollen* may combine with the *Abgesang* to form one large subdivision. The latter method is more frequent, and is in keeping with the fourteenth century preference for long sentences. Further subdivision of the *Abgesang,* as in Chich 2, Virelai XXXVII, is rare, except where refrain and *Abgesang* have an *ouvert* and *clos,* i.e. where music is repeated in each of these sections, but the *Stollen* are sometimes subdivided one line before the beginning of the *Abgesang.* This irregularity evidently creates a smooth flow from *Stollen* to *Abgesang,* e.g. Chich 2, Virelai XXXII, stanza 2, lines 6 & 7.

Stollen	Desesperez
Abgesang	en sui et si forsenez,"

Rare subdivisions of the stanza are those where each *Stollen* forms a unit (e.g. 3 lines plus 3 lines in the second stanza of Chich 2, Virelai XXVIII), or where the *Abgesang* is divided into two equal halves (as in the first stanza of Chich 2, Virelai XXVI).

Questions of versification were of particular interest to Machaut and his pupil Deschamps, as we can see from the *Art de Dictier* by Deschamps, which is dated 1392. Though the information given in this short treatise is scanty, it suffices to show that certain features of fourteenth century versification may easily be misunderstood today, and not everything written down in the work can be simply explained. For example, while a line of verse is today termed masculine or feminine according to its ending, Deschamps considers the line with a feminine ending to be a syllable longer than that with a masculine ending. Thus, where we should demand lines of equal length with masculine and feminine rhymes alternating, Deschamps says: *Et se doit on tousjours garder en faisant balade, qui puet, que les vers ne soient pas de mesmes piez, mais doivent estre de .IX. ou de .X., ou de .VIII. ou de .IX., selon ce qu'il plaist au faiseur, sanz les faire touz egaulz, car la balade n'en est pas si plaisant ne de si bonne façon* [5].

Again, the fourteenth century liking for leonine rhymes seems most artificial until one discovers what leonine meant at that time, namely that the rhyme was a full syllable in length. Thus *monde* and *onde, homme* and *Romme* are leonine, whereas the half-syllable rhyme like *presentement* and *innocent* is simply *sonant* [6]. The confusion possible here is

5 E. Deschamps, *Oeuvres complètes* VII, 276.
6 *Idem,* 275.

obvious when one consults a modern definition of leonine rhyme, according to which it consists of several syllables identical in sound and articulation [7]. The same authority maintains that sufficient rhyme offers the identity of the vowel and the articulation following it. This appears to be equivalent to the fourteenth century *rime sonant*. But where the line-ending is feminine, *sufficient* rhyme is identical with fourteenth century leonine rhyme. This can be accounted for by the fact that the feminine ending was considered as a foot in the fourteenth century, and therefore a word like *onde* had two feet equivalent to one complete syllable. In the masculine form, however, fourteenth century leonine rhyme is identical with modern rich rhyme, in which the consonant preceding the rhyming vowel also rhymes.

Deschamps' definition of the Virelai is difficult to understand until one realises that the word *vers* had several meanings in the fourteenth century. It often means a part of a strophe. Thus Deschamps calls each *Stollen* a *vers*. He also mentions that the last line of the *Abgesang* must prepare for the return of the refrain.

An examination of the Ballades of Machaut reveals that he prefers the seven- or eight-line form with rhymes a b a b b c C and a b a b c c d D. The seven-line Ballade is usually isometric, while the eight-line decasyllabic form invariably has the customary seven-syllable *vers coupé* or short line at the beginning of the *Abgesang*. There is one example of the *vers coupé* in a seven-line Ballade. This occurs in Chich 1, CLXXXII at the beginning of the *Abgesang*, just as in the eight-line Ballade. The *vers coupé* is a five-syllable line, while the rest of the Ballade is decasyllabic The seven-line Ballade is found rather more often with the decasyllabic than with the octosyllabic line (13 and 5 times respectively), which again shows how popular the decasyllable was becoming at the time of Machaut. The seven-line Ballade Chich 2, XXVIII has a two-line octosyllabic refrain, while the rest of the poem is decasyllabic. The same is true no doubt of Chich 2, Ballade XIII which, while it is unique in that it consists of only one strophe, has the same construction as Ballade XXVIII, rhyme included, and so can probably be considered as having a two-line refrain. The seven-line Ballade Chich 2, II has a refrain of almost two lines, which begins after the first two syllables of its sixth line. Much less frequent than the eight-line decasyllabic Ballade with one seven-syllable *vers coupé* is the eight-line octosyllabic Ballade, which is isometric throughout, except in the case of Chich 2, Ballade IV, whose last two lines are decasyllabic, though the refrain is restricted to the final line of each stanza. The rhyme is the same as in the standard eight-line decasyllabic Ballade, except in

[7] *Larousse du XXe siècle* V, Paris, 1932, 1094.

the case of Chich 2, Ballade XLIII, which refines on the usual scheme by (a) using the second rhyme for the *Abgesang* as well as the *Stollen*, and (b) crossing the rhyme in both parts of the stanza: a b a b b c b C.

Of the less normal Ballade forms there are several, a fact which suggests that the Ballade was by no means as fixed at the time of Machaut as one is led to imagine. These Ballades are all longer than the normal seven or eight-line variety, and they are represented by one nine-line, one twelve-line, one fourteen-line and one sixteen-line example. All except the sixteen-line Ballade have lines of shorter length than the decasyllable throughout. The nine-line Ballade Chich 2, XV is isometric and uses seven-syllable lines throughout. It appears to be simply an extended form of the standard eight-line Ballade, as will be evident from its rhyme scheme a b a b c c d c D. The twelve-line Ballade Chich 1, CLXXVII has the form $a_7a_3b_7a_7a_3b_7b_7b_3a_7b_7b_3A_7$ of the *baladelle* from the *Remède,* though the diminutive is not applied in this case. The sixteen-line Ballade Chich 2, XLV is a Ballade only in the number of its stanzas, and in its musical form which, however, is also that of the *complainte*. Ballade XLV is very closely related to the *complainte* from the *Remède,* for their strophic form is identical, except that the *complainte* uses octosyllables while the Ballade has decasyllables. This is probably a sign of the latter's more recent composition. There is no refrain, and the verse form is the following:

$$a_{10}\ a_{10}\ a_{10}\ b_4\ a_{10}\ a_{10}\ a_{10}\ b_4\ b_{10}b_{10}\ b_{10}\ a_4\ b_{10}\ b_{10}\ b_{10}\ a_4$$

The rhymes change every strophe.

The type of rhyme used in the Ballades will not be considered here, since they are not examples of complicated rhyme. It may be said, however, that Machaut usually attempts to make the rhyme what he would have called leonine. *Rime équivoque,* when it occurs in the Ballades, is of the simplest [8].

The Rondeaux are a very different matter. Though the eight-line form predominates, there are three examples of the so-called *rondeau double,* which, from the time of Deschamps onwards, was preferred to the simple thirteenth century form. In its standard form the *rondeau double* has thirteen lines in the order: ABB abAB abb ABB. It was merely an extension of the eight-line form, and was itself often extended later. A less usual form is that of Chich 2, Rondeau V, which has 24 four-syllable lines in the following order: (AAB) AAB aab (AAB) aab aab (AAB) AAB [9]. Evidently the aim here is rhyme-play, since a line of only four syllables is hardly suitable for anything else.

8 *Terme d'équivoque est quant une seule diction ou voix signifie diverses choses* (E. Langlois, *Recueil d'Arts de seconde rhétorique,* Paris, 1903, 249).

9 The bracketed lines are identical in words as well as in rhyme.

Every one of Machaut's Rondeaux is isometric, though a variety of line lengths is to be found in the Rondeaux as a whole. The seven-syllable line is rare, but occurs in Chich 2, Rondeaux I and IX (a thirteen-line Rondeau). The decasyllable is again triumphant, but the octosyllable is utilised in five Rondeaux. Each of the thirteen-line Rondeaux differs from its fellows in length of line, for Rondeau IX has a seven-syllable, Rondeau XI an eight-syllable, and Rondeau XIII a ten-syllable line.

The most interesting feature of Machaut's Rondeaux, from the formal viewpoint, is the rhyme. The thirteen-line Rondeau has space to develop a thought, and so its rhymes remain simple, but in the case of the eight-line Rondeau and the 24-line variety mentioned above, formal ingenuity is prized above all else, and it is in these poems that the types of rhyme so often described in the treatises of second rhetoric are to be found. Not only is the rhyme perfect as far back as the penultimate vowel [10], but often Machaut makes it longer still. A good example is Chich 2, Rondeau VIII, so popular in the fourteenth century. Rhyme *a* consists of three full syllables *pri-son-nés,* and does not fail to make use of duality of meaning, e.g. *prison nez.* This last rhyme forms a link to rhyme *b, prison.* The liking for the same word used with different meanings or with changes of function is even carried to other parts of the sentence than the rhyme, e.g. *Doucement* at the beginning of the first line and *douce* at the end of the second. The assimilation of rhyme *a* with rhyme *b* is frequent. Chich 2, Rondeau II has . . . *e chiere* and *enchiere,* Chich 2, Rondeau VI *fine* and *finement,* Chich 2, Rondeau VII *guerre donnée* and *guerriant,* Chich 2, Rondeau XXX *vivray* and *vis,* and above all Chich 2, Rondeau XXI . . . *me n'oy* and . . . *noy.*

The most extended rhyme in the Rondeaux is the first rhyme of Chich 2, Rondeau VII, *guerredonnée.* This takes the forms *guerredon née, guerredonnée* (past participle) and *guerre donnée* (noun plus past participle).

In some cases Machaut is not completely successful with his ingenious rhymes, but one weaker rhyme does not worry him, e.g. rhyme *a* in Chich 1, CCXXXIV is *visa bel* except in line 5, where it is *le temps Abel.* Incidentally rhyme *b, elle,* is almost identical in sound with the final half-syllable of rhyme *a.*

The alternation of masculine with feminine rhyme seems to have been almost an accepted thing in the fourteenth century, though it was not yet a rule, as can be seen from Chich 1, CCXXXV and Chich 2, XXI.

Not only rhyme but other forms of word-play help to give unity to

10 See the treatise of Jacques Legrand in Langlois, *Recueil d'Arts de seconde rhétorique,* 4.

the Rondeau. Alliteration of the letters *v* and *d* is noticeable in Chich 2, Rondeau XVII, and assonance is a feature of Chich 2, Rondeaux XVIII and XXI.

The strophic form of the Virelai varies much more than that of the Ballade or Rondeau. Machaut's favourite Virelai form is the one he uses in the *Remède de Fortune*. Indeed all Virelais except those in the *Remède* form differ from each other in some respect, apart from the two final Virelais Chich 2, XXXVII and XXXVIII. Bearing this in mind it appears at first sight nonsensical to call the Virelai a fixed form, but every true Virelai has a root form AB cc ab AB which does not vary.

Deschamps states that the refrain of the Virelai consists of from four to seven lines, and that the latter is the longest refrain allowed. Moreover each Stollen may be three or two and a half lines in length [11]. Machaut is less strict. His shortest refrain consists of only three lines, while his longest has eight lines. Again each of his Stollen may consist of four lines or even two.

It would seem that Machaut began by seeking variety in his Virelai form (if the Virelais are in chronological order, and on the whole they appear to be [12]). His first Virelais are short, whereas most of the later ones have eighteen, twenty, twenty-one or even twenty-two line strophes (not counting the repeated refrain). The astonishing variety of rhyme and line length is nowhere more evident than in the eighteen-line form with six-line refrain. Every one is different in some way, with the exception above mentioned.

$A_7\ A_7\ B_5\ B_7\ B_7\ A_5$	$c_7\ c_7\ b_5\ c_7\ c_7\ b_5$	$a_7\ a_7\ b_5\ b_7\ b_7\ a_5$
$A_7\ B_4\ B_7\ A_4\ B_7\ A_4$	$b_7\ b_4\ c_7\ b_7\ b_4\ c_7$	$a_7\ b_4\ b_7\ a_4\ b_7\ a_4$
$A_7\ A_3\ B_7\ A_7\ A_3\ B_7$	$b_7\ b_3\ a_7\ b_7\ b_3\ a_7$	$a_7\ a_3\ b_7\ a_7\ a_3\ b_7$
$A_7\ A_3\ B_7\ A_7\ A_3\ B_7$	$c_7\ c_3\ b_7\ c_7\ c_3\ b_7$	$a_7\ a_3\ b_7\ a_7\ a_3\ b_7$
$A_7\ B_4\ B_7\ A_4\ A_7\ B_4$	$c_7\ c_7\ a_4\ c_7\ c_7\ a_4$	$a_7\ b_4\ b_7\ \mathit{a_4}\ \mathit{b_7}\ \mathit{a_4}$
$A_7\ B_5\ A_7\ B_5\ B_7\ A_7$	$b_7\ b_5\ a_7\ b_7\ b_5\ a_7$	$a_7\ b_5\ a_7\ b_5\ b_7\ a_7$
$A_8\ A_4\ B_4\ B_4\ A_8\ B_4$	$b_8\ b_4\ a_4\ b_8\ b_4\ a_4$	$a_8\ a_4\ b_4\ b_4\ a_8\ b_4$
$A_7\ A_7\ B_5\ B_7\ A_7\ B_5$	$b_7\ b_7\ a_5\ b_7\ b_7\ a_5$	$a_7\ a_7\ b_5\ b_7\ a_7\ b_5$

(Chich 2, Virelais XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XXI, XXVI, XXXIII, XXXVII, XXXVIII).

Virelais XXXVII and XXXVIII are identical in rhyme with Virelai XXXIII, but they differ from it in line length and in the sequence in which the long and short lines succeed each other. The variation in rhyme

11 E. Deschamps, *Oeuvres complètes,* VII, 281.

12 Cf. G. Reaney, "A Chronology of the Ballades, Rondeaux and Virelais Set to Music by Guillaume de Machaut", in *Musica Disciplina* VI (1952), 33ff.

between refrain and *Abgesang* in Virelai XXI is unique, and leads one to suspect a mistake in Chichmaref's edition. In fact, however, there is no error at all.

In striking contrast to the predominantly isometric Ballades and Rondeuax, the Virelais of Machaut are almost always composed of lines of varying length. Only two Virelais, Chich 2, V and XXX are isometric, and both have six-syllable lines. However, these examples are obviously extreme cases of refinement in form and rhyme. The archaic appearance of the majority of the Virelais on the page is increased by the use of the thirteenth century's favourite seven-syllable line, which predominates. Lines varying from two to nine syllables in length are to be found, however, and normally two different line-lengths are used per poem, one long and one short, though three, one long and two shorts, are by no means infrequent. The only poem to use a nine-syllable line is the shortest of the Virelais, which has lines of five, six, eight and nine syllables. The use of more than three different line-lengths occurs only in the earlier Virelais, namely Chich 2, II, III, IX and X.

From the point of view of rhyme, Machaut's aim in the Virelais is evidently refinement. He very often uses only two rhymes for a whole poem, even in the longest twenty-two line form. A third rhyme is frequently found in the *Stollen,* and in two cases even a fourth occurs. This certainly helps to differentiate the *Stollen* from the rest of the poem, but Machaut evidently prefers refinement and unity, as is proved by his frequent use of the scheme: $A_7\ A_7\ B_4\ B_7\ A_4\ A_7\ B_4 \quad b_7\ b_7\ a_4\ b_7\ b_7\ a_4\ a_7\ a_7\ b_4\ b_7\ a_4\ a_7\ b_4$. An analysis of Chich 2, Virelai V is interesting from this point of view. Here the desire for unity is given full opportunity to manifest itself. The four-line refrain is exactly half as long as the rest of the stanza. It is identical in line length and rhyme with each Stollen which, a rare case this, is identical in form with the *Abgesang. Rimes croisées* are used throughout, thus dispensing with the need for further elaboration of rhyme ($A_6\ B_6\ A_6\ B_6 \quad a_6\ b_6\ a_6\ b_6 \quad a_6\ b_6\ a_6\ b_6$). The poem could scarcely be more symmetrical.

In the other isometric Virelai, Chich 2, XXX Machaut is more occupied with rhyme-play, as the short lines, with their repetition of rhyme *A* demand.

Refrain: *Liement me dé*port
Par semblant, mais je port,
*Sans joie et sans dé*port,
Une si grief pointure
Que je sui au droit port
*De m*ort, *sans nul dé*port
Se d'Amours n'ay tel port
Qu'il me preigne en sa cure.

The rhyming half-syllable is even used within the line, while at the end of it the rhyme is leonine and *équivoque*. Three times the word *port* and three times the word *déport* are used, though it is to be noted that *déport* is twice used with the same meaning and function, thus breaking the rules of *rime équivoque*, which must be the same in appearance and different in meaning or function, or different in appearance and the same in meaning or function.

This example is sufficient to show that the Virelais are capable of rhyme-play if desired, though the excesses of the Rondeaux are in general avoided. Machaut did, however, use his ingenuity to make the rhymes as elaborate as possible in some cases and, as in the Rondeaux, he sometimes assimilates one rhyme to another. For example, Chich 2, Virelai VII rhymes *arousée* with *(douc)e rosée,* and Chich 2, Virelai VIII rhymes *ligement* with *(a)ligement,* while in Chich 2, Virelai IX rhyme *a* is *durer* and rhyme *b dure.*

It is not surprising to find the *echo* rhyme among the Virelais, with their alternation of long and short lines, but here again only moderate use is made of the effect. A good example is Chich 2, Virelai IV. In the *Stollen* $a_6\ a_2\ b_6\ (a_6\ a_2\ b_6)$, the short line echoes the rhyme of the line preceding, and an attempt is made to make the whole of the short line identical with the end of the preceding line, as in *tricherie* and *chierie, maistrie* (noun) and *maistrie* (verb). The *echo* rhyme is a feature of many pre-Machaut poems, including Rondeau No. 8 of Adam de la Halle.

Or est Baiars en la pasture,
Hure!

In Adam's works, however, the *echo* rhyme is usually an exclamation, while in the Machaut Virelai the short line is essential to the understanding of the poem. It is not surprising to find the words *A jointes mains deprie* in the third stanza, words almost identical with the first line of Adam's Rondeau No. 9: *A jointes mains vous proi.*

The purpose of the refrain is to give unity to a poem, and most of the complicated rhymes in use in the fourteenth century were meant to strengthen that unity. In Chich 2, Virelais VI and IX Machaut discovered a new way of giving unity to the form. Not only was the last line of the *Abgesang* constructed so as to produce a perfect transition to the refrain, but it became identical with the last line of the refrain. In Virelai IX the short final line produces an echo effect.

The two hybrid poems included with the Virelais in the great manuscripts appear to have much in common with the Ballade, and Chich 2, Virelai XIII is called a Ballade in Paris, Bibl. Nat., fonds frçs. 843, a manuscript without music. But neither poem has an *Abgesang,* and Chich

2, Virelai XIV has three *Stollen* instead of the usual two. Both poems resemble the Virelai in the use of lines of varying length, and the restriction to two rhymes. In addition Virelai XIV has a six-line refrain. The forms are as follows:

Virelai XIII: $a_7\ b_5\ a_7\ b_5\quad B_8\ A_5$.
„ XIV: $a_6\ b_6\ a_6\ b_6\ a_6\ b_6\quad A_3\ A_3\ B_5\ A_3\ A_3\ B_5$.

Considering that the art of second rhetoric was primarily concerned with the art of versification, it is not surprising that Machaut was a master of form. His poems are always finished, in this respect as well as in others, and, although he is proud of his elaborate rhymes, he is rarely guilty of excesses. If his Rondeaux prove a little trying to the modern reader, he himself knew that these trifles were most suited to artifices of word and rhyme play, and he rarely let such superficialities intrude in the more dignified Ballades. Nor was he responsible for the puerilities that were foisted on the second rhetoric by theorists in the fifteenth and sixteenth century treatises [13]. Like the complexities of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century musical notation, these were signs of the times, and of a decline in medieval art which was registered by preoccupation with subtleties of form. Nevertheless Machaut was the leader of a new school which must have taken some of its precepts from him. He was venerated by Eustache Deschamps, and may possibly have written a treatise of second rhetoric which has not come down to us. However that may be, the *Art de Dictier* was almost certainly not the first treatise of its kind, since the author explicitly refers to other articles written by wiser men than himself [14], of whom Machaut may well have been one.

13 Like *rimes batelées, brisées, couronnées, senées,* etc.
14 E. Deschamps, *Oeuvres complètes,* VII, 291.

ANALYTICAL TABLE OF THE POETIC FORM OF BALLADES, RONDEAUX AND VIRELAIS

The numbers are those of Chich 2. In certain cases the poem already occurs in Chich 1, so that the reference to Chich 1 is alone given in Chich 2. In this case the Chich 1 number follows the metrical analysis, as does the number of the musical editions of Ludwig and Schrade if different. The repeated refrain will be indicated in the Rondeaux but not for the Virelais. There are normally three stanzas to the Ballades and Virelais.

Ballades

1. a b a b b c C, decasyllabic.
2. As 1 but octosyllabic. The refrain reaches back into line 6 as follows: "...que trop crueus seroit‖li cuers qui pitie n'en aroit".
3. As 1. (Chich 1, VII)
4. a8 b8 a8 b8 c8 c8 d10 D10.
5. As 1.
6. a7 a4 a3 b7 a7 a4 a3 b7 b4 b3 a7 b4 b3 A7.

7 and 8. As 1.

9—11. a10 b10 a10 b10 c7 c10 d10 D10. Musically these form one tritextual work. (Lud and Schrade 17)

12. a7 b5 a7 b5 b7 c8 C8. (Chich 1, X; Lud and Schrade 9)
13. a10 b10 a10 b10 C8 C8. Only one strophe, but a two-line refrain is assumed on the analogy of no. 28. (Lud and Schrade 10)
14. a7 b5 a7 b5 b5 a7 B5. (Lud and Schrade 11)
15. a b a b c c d c D, heptasyllabic. (Lud and Schrade 12)
16. As 1 but octosyllabic. (Lud and Schrade 13)
17. As 9—11. (Chich 1, CLXXV; Lud and Schrade 14)
18. As 4 but octosyllabic throughout. (Lud and Schrade 15)
19. As 1 but with one five-syllable line as line five (Chich 1, CLXXXII; Lud and Schrade 16)
20. As 9—11. (Lud and Schrade 18)
21. a7 a3 b7 a7 a3 b7 b7 b3 a7 b7 b3 A7. (Chich 1, CLXXVII; Lud and Schrade 19)

22—23. As 9—11. (Lud and Schrade 20—21)

24. As 9—11. (Chich 1, CLXXXVIII; Lud and Schrade 22)
25. As 9—11. (Chich 1, CXCV; Lud and Schrade 23)
26. As 1 but octosyllabic. (Lud and Schrade 24)
27. As 9—11 (Chich 1, CCI; Lud and Schrade 25)
28. As 13 but with three strophes (Lud and Schrade 26)

29—31. As 9—11. (Chich 1, CCIV; Lud and Schrade 27) (Chich 1, CCIII; Lud and Schrade 28) (Lud and Schrade 31)

32—34. As 1. Musically these form one tritextual work. (Lud and Schrade 29)

35. As 1 but octosyllabic. (Lud and Schrade 30)
36. As 9—11 (Chich 1, CCXXIX; Lud and Schrade 32)
37. As 1. (Chich 1, CCXXXII; Lud and Schrade 33)

38—39. As 9—11. Musically these form one bitextual work. (Lud and Schrade 34)

40. As 1 but octosyllabic. (Chich 1, XV; Lud and Schrade 37)

41. As 1. (Chich 1, XXXIX; Lud and Schrade 35)
42. As 1. (Chich 1, CCXLVIII; Lud and Schrade 36)
43. a b a b b c b C, octosyllabic. (Lud and Schrade 38)
44. As 1. (Chich 1, CCLVIII; Lud and Schrade 39)
45. a_{10} a_{10} a_{10} b_4 a_{10} a_{10} a_{10} b_4 b_{10} b_{10} b_{10} a_4 b_{10} b_{10} b_{10} a_4. The rhymes change every strophe. (Lud and Schrade 40)

Baladelle from *Remède de Fortune.* As 21. (Schrade 41)
Ballade from *Remède de Fortune.* As 9—11. (Schrade 42)

Rondeaux

1. A B a A a b A B, heptasyllabic.
2—3. As 1 but decasyllabic.
4. As 2—3. (Chich 1, CXLVIII)
5. A A B (A A B) a a b A A B a a b a a b A A B (A A B), tetrasyllabic. Brackets indicate new words.
6. As 1 but octosyllabic.
7—8. As 2—3 (8 = Lud and Schrade 9)
9. A B B a b A B a b b A B B, heptasyllabic. (Lud and Schrade 10)
10. As 2—3. (Lud and Schrade 8)
11. As 9 but octosyllabic.
12. As 2—3.
13. As 9 but decasyllabic.
14. As 2—3. (Lud and Schrade 17)
15. As 6. (Lud and Schrade 14)
16. As 2—3 (Chich 1, CCXXXIV; Lud and Schrade 15)
17—19. As 2—3 (Lud and Schrade 16, 18 and 19)
20. As 6. (Chich 1, CCXXXV)
21. As 6.

Rondelet from *Remède de Fortune.* As 6. (Schrade 22)

Virelais

1. A_6 A_6 A_6 A_6 B_6 c_8 d_6 c_8 d_6 a_6 a_6 a_6 a_6 b_6.
2. A_9 A_5 B_6 a_8 b_5 a_8 b_5 a_9 a_5 b_6.
3. A_7 B_5 A_7 B_5 c_6 a_8 c_6 a_8 a_7 b_5 a_7 b_5.
4. A_6 A_6 A_6 B_7 a_6 a_2 b_6 a_6 a_2 b_6 a_6 a_6 a_6 b_7.
5. A B A B a b a b a b a b, hexasyllabic.
6. A_7 A_7 B_5 B_8 c_8 c_3 a_7 c_8 c_3 a_7 a_7 a_7 b_5 B_8. Final line of stanza is final line of refrain too.
7. A_7 A_7 A_7 B_5 A_7 A_7 A_7 B_5 b_7 b_7 a_5 b_7 b_7 a_5 a_7 a_7 a_7 b_5 a_7 a_7 a_7 b_5.
8. A_7 A_6 A_5 B_5 a_7 b_6 a_7 b_6 a_7 a_6 a_5 b_5.
9. A_7 A_7 B_5 B_2 c_8 a_7 c_7 a_7 a_7 a_7 b_5 B_2. As in no. 6, the final line of stanza is final line of refrain too.
10. A_6 A_6 B_5 A_6 B_8 b_5 b_6 a_3 b_5 b_6 a_3 a_6 a_6 b_5 a_6 b_8.
11. A_6 A_7 A_7 A_6 B_7 c_8 a_7 c_7 a_7 a_6 a_7 a_7 a_6 b_7.
12. A_3 A_2 B_7 A_7 A_3 A_2 B_7 A_7 c_7 c_2 a_7 c_7 c_2 a_7 a_3 a_2 b_7 a_7 a_3 a_2 b_7 a_7.
13. a_7 b_5 a_7 b_5 B_8 A_5. Hybrid form of Ballade type.
14. a_6 b_6 a_6 b_6 a_6 b_6 A_3 A_3 B_5 A_3 A_3 B_5. Hybrid form of Ballade type.
15. A_7 A_7 B_5 B_7B_7 A_5 c_7 c_7 b_5 c_7 c_7 b_5 a_7 a_7 b_5 b_7 b_7 a_5.
16. A_7 B_4 B_7 A_4 B_7 A_4 b_7 b_4 c_7 b_7 b_4 c_7 a_7 b_4 b_7 a_4 b_7 a_4.
17. A_7 A_3 B_7 A_7 A_3 B_7 b_7 b_3 a_7 b_7 b_3 a_7 a_7 a_3 b_7 a_7 a_3 b_7.

18. A_7 A_3 B_7 A_7 A_3 B_7 c_7 c_3 b_7 c_7 c_3 b_7 a_7 a_3 b_7 a_7 a_3 b_7.
19. A_7 A_7 A_7 B_5 A_7 A_7 A_7 B_5 b_7 b_7 c_5 b_7 b_7 c_5 a_7 a_7 a_7 b_5 a_7 a_7 a_7 b_5.
20. A_7 A_3 B_7 A_7 A_3 B_7 b_7 a_7 b_7 a_7 a_7 a_3 b_7 a_7 a_3 b_7.
21. A_7 B_4 B_7 A_4 A_7 B_4 c_7 c_7 a_4 c_7 c_7 a_4 a_7 b_4 b_7 a_4 b_7 a_4. Without music but in music fascicle. (not in Schrade)
22. A_7 A_3 B_7 A_7 A_3 A_7 B_3 b_7 b_3 a_7 b_7 b_3 a_7 a_7 a_3 b_7 a_7 a_3 a_7 b_3. Without music but in music fascicle. (not in Schrade)
24. A_7 B_7 A_7 B_7 c_7 c_3 d_7 c_7 c_3 d_7 a_7 b_7 a_7 b_7. Without music but in music fascicle. (not in Schrade)
25. A_3 A_4 B_4 B_3 B_4 A_4 B_7 A_4 b_7 b_7 a_4 b_7 b_7 a_4 a_3 a_4 b_4 b_3 b_4 a_4 b_7 a_4. (Schrade 22)
26. A_7 B_5 A_7 B_5 B_7 A_7 b_7 b_5 a_7 b_7 b_5 a_7 a_7 b_5 a_7 b_5 b_7 a_7. (Chich 1, CCV; Schrade 23)
27. A_7 A_7 B_4 B_7 A_4 A_7 B_4 b_7 b_7 a_4 b_7 b_7 a_4 a_7 a_7 b_4 b_7 a_4 a_7 b_4. (Schrade 24)
28. A_4 A_4 A_4 A_4 B_6 a_7 a_4 a_4 b_6 a_7 a_4 a_4 b_6 a_4 a_4 a_4 a_4 b_6. (Schrade 25)
29. A_7 B_4 B_3 B_4 A_4 A_7 B_4 a_7 a_7 b_4 a_7 a_7 b_4 a_7 b_4 b_3 b_4 a_4 a_7 b_4. (Schrade 26)
30. A A A B A A A B b b a b b a a a a b a a a b, hexasyllabic. (Schrade 27)

31—32. As 27. (Schrade 28—29)

33. A_8 A_4 B_4 B_4 A_8 B_4 b_8 b_4 a_4 b_8 b_4 a_4 a_8 a_4 b_4 b_4 a_8 b_4. (Lud 36; Schrade 30)

34—36. As 27. Without music but in music fascicle (Lud. 33—35; not in Schrade)

37. A_7 A_7 B_5 B_7 A_7 B_5 b_7 b_5 a_7 b_7 b_5 a_7 a_7 a_7 b_5 b_7 a_7 b_5. (Schrade 31)
38. A_7 A_7 B_5 B_7 A_7 B_5 b_7 b_7 a_5 b_7 b_7 a_5 a_7 a_7 b_5 b_7 a_7 b_5. (Schrade 32)

Virelai from *Remède de Fortune*. As 27. (Schrade 33)

FABURDEN AND FAUXBOURDON

BRIAN TROWELL

How, where and when did Fauxbourdon begin? It would be safe to say that no other question in musical history has received so much attention as this one, over the past twenty years or so. Three dissertations, a book, a round dozen of articles in learned journals, all dealing in whole or in part with the origins of Fauxbourdon — and still the crux remains: Faburden or Fauxbourdon? English ancestry, or French? At risk of boring those who have patiently followed the arguments of counsel on both sides over the past decade, I must add yet another article to the bibliography and demand a re-trial: new evidence has come to light which shows that for all this time the dispute has been proceeding from false premises. First, however, we must summarise the main points made by prosecution and defence, Francophiles and Anglophiles, starting in the years 1936-7.

It was at this time that Bukofzer and Georgiades published their valuable dissertations on the techniques of English discant and Faburden [1]. They printed complete and accurate texts of all the contemporary manuscripts dealing with these practices, with full commentaries. Unknown to either writer, the American philologist Sanford B. Meech had also published the three most important treatises a year before [2], but unfortunately without calling in the services of an expert in fifteenth-century music; his interpretations were therefore faulty. Previous historians had relied on the inaccurate excerpts which Hawkins and Burney had included in their suveys. Bukofzer and Georgiades, however, were able to show that writers such as Riemann had gone far astray in their handling of discant and Faburden. Both agreed in distinguishing Faburden from English discant. The latter, they held, was a way of extemporising a piece of music in three (or four) parts, using chiefly $^{8}/_{5}$ and $^{6}/_{3}$ chords, over a plainsong which appeared in the lowest voice. Faburden on the other hand they equated with the continental manner of Fauxbourdon: it was a means of improvising a piece of music in three parts by singing the plainsong an octave above its original pitch in the upper voice, and accompanying it throughout

1 Manfred Bukofzer, *Geschichte des englischen Diskants und des Fauxbourdons nach den theoretischen Quellen,* Strassburg, 1936; Thrasybulos Georgiades, *Englische Diskanttraktate aus der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts,* München, 1937.

2 Sanford B. Meech, "Three Fifteenth-Century English Musical Treatises", in *Speculum* X, 1935, 235ff.

with similar $^{8}/_{5}$ and $^{6}/_{3}$ chords supplied this time by the lower parts. At this point, though, Bukofzer and Georgiades parted company. Georgiades maintained the traditional view — which Wooldridge had already questioned — that Faburden was exported to the continent in the decades following Agincourt (1415), as one feature of the well-known *contenance angloise* [3]. But Bukofzer found that the earliest continental Fauxbourdon-pieces preceded the first references to the English practice by about a quarter of a century. He therefore came to the conclusion that Faburden was an English adaptation of Fauxbourdon, whereby the written *res facta* of the continental masters was converted into a technique of improvisation on the lines of English discant [4]. All subsequent writers who have taken part in the ensuing dispute have adopted one or the other of these positions.

It is the purpose of this article to demonstrate that Faburden was not in fact the same thing as Fauxbourdon; and this fundamental change of view amputates one horn of the dilemma round which the dispute developed. It will not therefore be necessary to set out here all the arguments, inferences and guesswork used on both sides of the controversy. But we must take our bearings, nevertheless. The main combatants in recent years were Heinrich Besseler and the late Rudolf von Ficker, and they adopted the views of their own pupils, Bukofzer and Georgiades respectively. Their discussion centred on Besseler's important book *Bourdon und Fauxbourdon* [5], and was carried on in the pages of *Acta Musicologica* between 1951 and 1954 [6]. Meanwhile Bukofzer had published *Fauxbourdon Revisited* [7], an invaluable article which complements and in some instances corrects Besseler's book. N. Wallin followed with some interesting conjectures which however fail to survive the scrutiny of the philologist [8]. In 1957, Besseler felt that he was in a position to sum up the course of

3 Georgiade, *Ib.* 105; H. E. Wooldridge, *The Polyphonic Period, Part I (The Oxford History of Music,* 2nd. ed., rev. P. C. Buck, I), O.U.P., London 1929, 295-329.

4 Bukofzer, *Ib.,* 121ff.

5 Heinrich Besseler, *Bourdon und Fauxbourdon,* Leipzig 1950; see also "Der Ursprung des Fauxbourdons", in *Die Musikforschung,* 1, 1948, 106ff.

6 Von Ficker's articles: "Zur Schöpfungsgeschichte des Fauxbourdon", in *Acta Musicologica,* 23, 1951, 93ff; and "Epilog zum Faburdon", *Ib.,* 25, 1953, 127ff. Besseler's replies: "Tonalharmonik und Vollklang", *Ib.,* 24, 1952, 131ff.; and "Das Neue in der Musik des 15. Jahrhunderts", *Ib.,* 26, 1954, 75ff.

7 In *The Musical Quarterly,* 38, Jan. 1952, 22ff.

8 In *Kongressbericht Bamberg,* Kassel-Basel, 1954, 120-124; convincingly refuted by Flasdieck in "Elisab. *Faburden . . .*", *op. cit.* infra, 203-216.

the argument [9]. Since then, Suzanne Clercx has stepped in with further facts and inferences [10].

An unusual feature of the dispute has been the part played by the philologists. In 1953, Hermann Flasdieck took up the cudgels on behalf of von Ficker to say that, contrary to the accepted etymology, the word *Faburdon* could not have evolved from the word *Fauxbourdon* [11]. Gustav Kirchner replied in support of Besseler, upholding the conventional derivation [12]. As a sort of testimonial he quoted extracts only (!) from the comments of four eminent colleagues to whom he had sent Flasdieck's article. Their replies ranged from the non-committal to the reactionary; on the whole, no-one wished to abandon the accepted text-book etymology without further enquiry, and one or two of Flasdieck's arguments were questioned. Two years later Flasdieck replied to all objections, even turning some of them to his own advantage, in a long article which exhaustively discusses every conceivable aspect of the subject [13]. This article appeared in a philological journal, and few musicologists will have taken the trouble to read it. The philologists, however, must have seen it, and not one of them has replied or raised any further complaint in two years. Since Flasdieck's investigation remains the only detailed treatment of a topic which never gave philologists any cause for serious thought until it was raised by musical historians, it now seems likely to stand; and Flasdieck's conclusions are diametrically opposed to Besseler's. To go on talking of disagreement among the philologists, and to dismiss Flasdieck's learned and minute examination as a minority view, as Besseler and Clercx do [14], is surely to try and exploit a situation which no longer exists — however unpalatable the facts.

The position today remains something of a deadlock. On philological

9 In "Das Ergebnis der Diskussion über "Fauxbourdon" ", in *Acta Musicologica,* 29, 1957, 185ff.; the editors then closed their columns to this argument — and who shall blame them?

10 "Aux origines du faux-bourdon", in *Revue de Musicologie,* 40, Dec. 1957, 151ff.

11 In "Franz. *fauxbourdon* und frühneuengl. *faburden*", in *Acta Musicologica,* 25, 1953, 111ff.

12 In "Französisch *faux-bourdon* und frühneuenglish *faburden* (H. M. Flasdieck). Epilog zum Faburdon (R. v. Ficker). Eine Erwiderung", *Ib.,* 26, 1954, 85ff.

13 In "Elisab. *Faburden* "Fauxbourdon" and NE. *Burden* "Refrain" ", in *Anglia,* 74, 1956, 188ff.

14 Besseler, "Das Ergebnis . . .", 187; his "Dufay in Rom", in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft,* 15, 1958, 2, again speaks of the overwhelming majority of the Anglicists' (my translation), Clercx, "Aux origines . . .", 154.

grounds, Flasdieck [15] maintains that the word *Faburdon* must have preceded the word *Fauxbourdon*. For musical and other reasons Besseler still holds that the technique of Fauxbourdon was created and named by Dufay in the Paris of 1427, where he met English musicians and decided to transmute English discant by raising the plainsong from the lowest voice to the upper, thereby turning it into a *res facta* with an ornamented treble after the manner of a Burgundian *chanson* [16]. There will be more to say about the detail of Besseler's argument later on. Mme. Clercx conveniently summarises the outlines of the whole controversy for us [17]; Besseler's article of 1957 gives his latest published views, in which he has slightly modified his position in deference to Bukofzer and Flasdieck.

Even before Besseler took up the question in real earnest, however, a striking point had emerged from the work of Bukofzer and Georgiades. According to them, neither of the only early theorists who discussed Faburden and Fauxbourdon at any length knew what he was talking about; or if he did, he failed to express himself clearly on this one subject, though in each case the rest of the treatise is lucidity itself. This seemed at best a freakish coincidence. Had Bukofzer and Georgiades misinterpreted the texts? Middle English is not always easy, even for an Englishman. A fresh and unbiased examination of the anonymous tract in the Lansdowne manuscript, which was copied by John Wylde in the middle years of the fifteenth century to help him in his duties as precentor of Waltham Holy Cross, produced results which are decidedly startling [18]. They are confirmed, however, by a similar re-reading of the treatise of Guilielmus Monachus, which was copied in Northern Italy about a quarter of a century later [19].

It is worth reprinting the few sentences from the Lansdowne Anonymous, numbering them and providing a modern transliteration: —

15 "Elisab. *Faburden* . . .", 238.

16 "Das Ergebnis . . .", 187.

17 *Op. cit.*, 151-4.

18 British Museum, Lansdowne MS 763, ff.116-116′. We shall use the modern spelling of 'Faburden' except in quotation: the early spelling varies. For the sake of convenience, we shall use 'Faburden' to denote the original English form, and 'Fauxbourdon' when referring to the continental and later English practice of transposing the plainsong an octave in the upper voice. By the later fifteenth century, neither English nor continental sources upheld this distinction, but it will prove useful here.

19 "De praeceptis artis musicae et practicae compendiosus libellus", Cod. 336 MS Lat. 1581, Libr. of S. Marco, Venice, 1-48′; in E. de Coussemaker, *Scriptorum . . . Nova Series,* III, 1879.

(1) The sight of ffaburdon with his a cordis.

The Sight of Faburden with his accords.

(2) for þe leeste *pro*cesse of sigtis natural *and* most *in* vse is expedient to declare þe sight of ffaburdun.

For the least process of Sights, natural and most in use, [it] is expedient to declare the Sight of Faburden.

(3) The wheche haþe but 2° sightis. a .3de. aboue þe plain song *in* sight þe wheche is a .6. fro þe Treble in voice. *and* a euyn wt þe plain song *in* sight þe wheche is a .8te. fro þe Treble in voise.

The which hath but two Sights: a third above the plainsong in Sight, the which is a sixth from the Treble in Voice; and an even with the plainsong in Sight, the which is an octave from the Treble in Voice.

(4) These 2° a cordis þe ffaburdener must rwle be þe Mene of þe plain song.

These two accords the Faburdener must rule by the Mean of the plainsong.

(5) ffor whan he shal be gynne his ffaburdun he must attende to þe plain song *and* sette his sight euyn wt þe plain song. *and* his voice. *in* a 5te. beneþe þe plain song

For when he shall begin his Faburden, he must attend to the plainsong, and set his Sight even with the plainsong and his Voice in a fifth beneath the plainsong.

(6) *and* aftir þt wheþir þe plain song ascende or descende to sette his sihȝt alwey boþe in rwle *and* space a boue þe plain song *in* a .3de.

And after that, whether the plainsong ascend or descend, [he ought] to set his Sight always, both in rule and space, above the plainsong in a third.

(7) *and* aftir þt þe plain song hauntiþ his course eyþer in acut*is* fro g solreut a boue to G solreut be neþe to close dunward in sight euyn vpon þe plain song. vpon one of þese keyes Dlasolre. Csolfaut Alamir*e* or G solreut. benethe

And after that the plainsong haunteth his course either *in acutis* from g solreut above to G Solreut beneath, [he ought] to close downwards in Sight even upon the plainsong upon one of these keys: D Lasolre, C Solfaut, A Lamire or G Solreut beneath.

(8) And yf þe plainsong haunt his course fro Gsolreut be nethe doun toward Are. *con*uenient*li* þan to se be for*e* where he may close wt. 2°. or 3°. or 4e. 3d*is* be for*e* eyþ*er* *in* Effaut beneþe or Dsolre or Cfaut or Are.

And if the plainsong haunt his course from G Solreut beneath down toward A Re, [he ought] conveniently then to see before where he may close, with two or three or four thirds before, either in F Faut beneath, or D Solre, or C Faut, or A Re.

(9) And al þese closis gladli to be sun*g*e and closid at þe laste ende of a worde.

And all these closes [are] gladly to be sung and closed at the last end of a word.

(10) And as ofte as he wil to touche þe plain song *and* voide þ*er*fro

And as often as he will [he ought] to touch the plainsong — and void there-

excepte twies to gedir for þt may not be. inas moche as þe plainsong sight is a 8te. to þe treble. *and* a .5te. to þe mene *and* so to eu*e*ry deg*r*e he is a p*er*fite corde. *and* .2°. p*er*fite a cordis of one nat*ur*e may not be su*n*g to ged*i*r in no degr*e* of Descan*t*.

from — except twice together, for that may not be, inasmuch as the plainsong Sight is an octave to the Treble and a fifth to the Mean, and so to every degree he is a perfect chord; and two perfect accords of one nature may not be sung together in no degree of Discant.

Riemann thought that Faburden was the same thing as English discant; and so he had to emend the text with an abandon that would have done credit to Procrustes, reading 'above' for 'below' and standing the whole passage on its head [20]. Bukofzer and Georgiades righteously scorned such methods; but ironically enough, each of them fell into a similar trap on the other side of the road. Both imagined that Faburden was the English version of Fauxbourdon, and tried to interpret the paragraph accordingly; and both made very heavy weather of the task. In view of the authority which their readings have gained — they have gone unchallenged for over twenty years — it will be necessary to quote their findings here. Bukofzer's late summary in *Fauxbourdon Revisited* [21] usefully condenses his own ideas and those of Georgiades. He reprimands our author in no uncertain terms: —

> "The obscurity of the passage in question is due to the fact that the English Anonymous has applied the practice of the transposing "sights", a great convenience in English discant, to fauxbourdon also, where it makes little sense and encumbers rather than facilitates improvised performance. Even more disconcerting is the circumstance that the Anonymous makes the essential point by implication only. He does not state in so many words that in faburden the *cantus firmus* is sung an octave above the original pitch of the plainsong and that the meane doubles the line at the fifth above the original pitch . . . This fundamental fact is tacitly assumed in what the Anonymous actually says . . . The singer of the lowest voice constantly holds a sixth or octave below the treble and a third or fifth below the middle part. Up to this point the directions are clear, but then the author introduces the sights and beclouds the issue. He goes on to say that the faburdener may visualise his intervals by *reading* the unison or upper third of either the treble or the meane. In the case of the treble the read note would *sound* an octave below the sight; in the case of the meane, a fifth below. This far-fetched manner of accounting for the tenor explains the puzzling remark that the two sights of the faburden, the unison and the upper third, apply to both the treble and the meane. In either case the sighted notes sound *below* the read pitch in exact opposition to those in English discant."

20 See H. Riemann, *Musiklexikon* (11th. ed., rev. A. Einstein), Berlin 1929, I, 493-494, and further ref. there.

21 *Ib.* 27-28.

In order to turn this description of Faburden into an improvised equivalent of Fauxbourdon, Bukofzer has had to make the following corrections and amplifications: that the plainsong is tacitly assumed to be sung an octave above its original pitch; that the Mean is tacitly assumed to double the Treble at the lower fourth; that it would 'becloud the issue' to describe continental Fauxbourdon in terms of the sights — when it would have been a perfectly simple matter to do so if the author had wished to; and that the Anonymous states (in sentences (4) and (5)) that one and the same Sight may be applied by the singer of the lowest voice to either of two voices lying a fourth apart, neither of which is written on the paper in front of him — when the whole point of the Sights, as the very name implies, was that the singer could transpose straight from the written plainsong.

Georgiades does not dwell on the obscurity of the passage as Bukofzer does; but he too has to assume *eine Veränderung der Auffassung der Termini "in sight" und "in voice"*, and an implied transposition of the plainsong to the upper octave [22]. These two points are vital to the meaning of the passage as he understands it, and would certainly have been equally vital to the unlettered singing-men of Waltham Holy Cross, for whom John Wylde compiled and edited these vernacular treatises. Now the one thing that we *are* entitled to assume is that Wylde found the instructions of his anonymous source useful enough, and clear enough, to wish to copy them into his musical *vade mecum*. Here is a fresh construe of what the Anonymous says, and it contains no emendations or tacit assumptions at all. The translation is in italics, and any comments are in ordinary type.

(1) *This is a description of the Faburden Sight and of the intervals which it makes with the plainsong.* The Faburden was the lowest voice, as Bukofzer and Georgiades agree. The Sight, called sometimes the 'Imagination', was the note visualised by the singer at a stated interval above or below the plainsong which he had under his eyes; while visualising the 'sighted' note, he then sang a different note, again at some prescribed interval above or below the sighted note. In short, it was a system of transposition which enabled one or more parts to be improvised from a written plainsong, whereby the imagined intervals of the Sight never went beyond the lines and spaces of the four-lined plainsong staff. In more familiar terms, a horn-player wishing to harmonise the note concert a' might visualise the upper third c' in Sight, knowing that the sound actually produced by his F-horn would be the fifth below, f in Voice — a major third below the concert a'. The terms 'Sight' and 'Voice' are used with admirable consistency in all the English treatises of the period, and there is no reason

22 *Op. cit.*, 44.

to suppose any change in their meaning for this one passage. Note finally that our author does not promise any information about the third voice of a Faburden-piece, though he does in fact give some.

(2) *The technique of Faburden is the 'least'* [i.e. the simplest, or the humblest] *of the family of Sights, but as it is so natural and so common it will be worth-while to explain it.* The author makes no distinction between the technique of the Sights, as applied to Faburden, and its application to other forms of discant.

(3) *The Faburden voice uses only two Sights, namely:*

(i) *the sighted or imagined third above the plainsong, which sounds in Voice a sixth from* [i.e. below] *the Treble.*

(ii) *the sighted unison with the plainsong, which sounds in Voice an octave below the Treble.*

This is where both Bukofzer and Georgiades went astray. Each of them assumed that the sighted third and unison actually *sounded* as a sung third or unison — in other words, that Sight and Voice were identical; and since we are also told that the Faburden sounds in Voice a sixth or an octave below the Treble, it was an easy step to assume that the Treble must be singing the plainsong itself, transposed to the upper octave. But Sight and Voice are not identical here, as we may see from (5) below. Bukofzer and Georgiades got out of this corner by assuming: (i) that in (3) the author omits to say that Sight and Voice are in unison, and (ii) that in (5) he is referring to the Mean — which they held to be the plainsong transposed up a fifth — as 'the plainsong'. As we shall find, there is in fact no contradiction whatever between the two sentences. In (3), we are not yet told what the interval between Sight and Voice is. The author is quite logical: first he must explain the two Sights, and later on he will say what transposition is to be used. Similarly, our horn-player must first learn how to finger and blow the written notes in front of him before he learns how to choose the correct crook for his instrument. We are however informed that the sighted upper third and unison will sound a sixth and an octave respectively below the Treble; but this is still a relative matter, for we do not yet know the pitch of the Treble either.

(4) *The Faburdener is to regulate the pitch of these two sighted notes from the 'Mean of the plainsong'.* Here the author states quite unequivocally that the plainsong is the Mean, or middle voice. This is the crucial point, the vital distinction between Faburden and Fauxbourdon.

(5) *When the Faburdener begins to sing, he should look at* [the first note of] *the plainsong and imagine the unison with it in Sight; he should then set his Voice a fifth below the plainsong.* The interval of transposition between Sight and Voice is therefore the lower fifth. Our horn-player

must select his F-crook. Now that we know the pitch of the Faburden, we also know the pitch of the Treble. The Faburdener's sighted unison with the plainsong sounds in Voice an octave below the Treble (3, ii): it follows that the Treble must be singing the fourth above the plainsong, for the Faburdener has the fifth below.

(6) *Thereafter, whether the plainsong rises or falls, the Faburdener should always set his Sight on the line or space* [of the staff] *a third above the plainsong.* The upper third in Sight yields the fifth below in Voice (5): the resulting sounds will therefore lie a third below the plainsong. This sighted upper third is also a sixth below the Treble in Voice (3, i): here too, then, the Treble must be singing the fourth above the plainsong. In other words, the Treble doubles the plainsong Mean at the upper fourth throughout.

(7) *If the plainsong lies high, between g′ and g, the Faburdener should cadence by moving his Sight down to a unison with the plainsong on the notes d′, c′, a′ or g* [23]. He will thus end each phrase as he began it, singing the fifth below in Voice at all cadences.

(8) *If the plainsongs lies low, between g and a, the Faburdener should if possible look ahead and see whether he may sing up to four thirds in succession before cadencing* [in Sight] *on to f, d, c or a* [23]. As in (7), he is to cadence with a sighted unison, sounding a fifth below the plainsong. He is also recommended to sing up to four thirds in a row where possible, presumably to enhance the cadence. Note that a cadence on to a plainsong *a* will require the Faburdener to sing the *D* below Gamut — an unusually low note which could not be fitted into the hexachordal system except by using the transposed Sights [24].

(9) *All these cadences are to be sung quite freely on the last note of any word* [in the plainsong].

(10) *As often as he likes, the Faburdener may touch the plainsong* [in Sight] *and leave it* [i.e. sing a sighted unison followed by a sighted upper third], *unless* [he touches it] *twice in succession. That is forbidden, since the plainsong Sight* [i.e. the unison between Sight and plainsong, sounding a fifth lower in Voice] *is an octave below the Treble and a fifth*

23 Note the dislike of cadences on to *b* or *e* in the plainsong; these would yield Phrygian cadences on to *e* and *a* (via *b*-flat) in the Faburden voice respectively. In fact, the music of the time does not always bear this out.

24 These low notes beneath Gam Ut rarely occur in English music before the Eton manuscript — was transposition common? On the other hand, the English Anonymous tells singers how to change the Sights when Countering in order to plunge deep below the plainsong, "yf ye haue a low voice" (f.115′). And Binchois, whose musical idiom is often indistinguishable from the style of his English contemporaries, frequently ventured below the Gam.

below the Mean, and thus forms a perfect consonance with each of the other parts; and two perfect consonances of the same kind may not be sung in succession in any part of Discant. This is the usual prohibition of consecutive perfect fifths and octaves: two successive sighted unisons with the plainsong will yield consecutive fifths between Faburden and plainsong Mean, consecutive octaves between Faburden and Treble.

To sum up, here is a fresh definition of Faburden in modern terms: — In a Faburden-piece, the plainsong lies in the middle voice or Mean. Below it, the tenor or Faburdener improvises in fifths and thirds by imagining unisons with or thirds above the written plainsong and pitching his voice a fifth lower than the imagined notes. He should begin with a sung fifth and move on in sung thirds, interposing fifths whenever he likes, provided that he does not sing two in succession; at the end of a word in the plainsong he should cadence by singing a fifth, preceded by as many as four successive thirds if the plainsong lies low. Cadences are to be avoided when the plainsong closes on *b, e* and their octaves. The Treble doubles the plainsong Mean throughout at the fourth above.

This then was Faburden as John Wylde and his anonymous author understood the term. The interpretation given above is the only possible one, if we assume that author and copyist meant what they wrote. It is now clear that Faburden must have grown straight out of the earlier practices of English discant such as Countertenor, Countergymel and Counter. The sudden introduction of continental Fauxbourdon, with its octave transposition of the plainsong in the treble, would indeed have been something of a novelty — though not perhaps such a break in the tradition as some writers have supposed [25]. But the Sights of Countertenor and Countergymel also described by the English Anonymous already suggest ways in which an improvised voice may sing below the plainsong at times; and the singer of the Counter Sight is told to keep his part beneath the plainsong throughout the entire piece [26]. Nor was Counter a fifteenth-century invention, even. Pseudo-Tunstede (1351?) has a chapter on 'Discanting beneath the Plainsong'. It ends thus: "... tamen dummodo discantaveritis sub plano cantu, nullus potest discantare supra, nisi fuerit expertus de gravium vocum sedibus, quia omnes superiores voces ad graviorem vocem habent reddere concordiam ..." [27].

These words give the clue as to how Faburden came into being. The Sights which lay partly or wholly beneath the plainsong allowed the

25 Bukofzer, *Geschichte ...*, 128, for example.

26 See note 24.

27 E. de Coussemaker, *op. cit.*, IV, 294, Cap. XL, "Quomodo sub plano cantu discantandum est". Here is Besseler's 'Bourdonkontratenor' — in the mid-fourteenth century!

discanter much greater melodic and harmonic freedom than English discant proper, which was firmly anchored to its plainsong bass. But they lost in sonority what they gained in variety; for as Tunstede says, only an expert could supply a third voice on top. Faburden was a neat, simple, and inevitably popular answer to the problem: if the lowest voice kept to fifths and thirds only beneath the plainsong, a third voice could then be added at the fourth above it with no risk of collisions. The result would sound, superficially, like the familiar progressions of English discant. But the bass would be more varied, and the techniques of the Treble and Faburden voices were far simpler and could be picked up in one lesson. Hence it must soon have become the most popular of the techniques of discant, "the least process of Sights, natural and most in use".

The clinching proof, however, is the fact that the new interpretation at last enables us to explain the name *Faburden* in a convincing way. Von Ficker held that the solmisation syllable *Fa* here referred to the interval of a fourth between the two upper voices, so that *Fa-burden* meant *Burden-characterised-by-the-fourth* [28]. This will not do, for two reasons. First, the Faburden is unquestionably the lowest voice, which has nothing to do with any fourths. Second, *Fa* does not mean a fourth. It is the name of the fourth degree of the hexachord; it does not stand for an interval, but for the notes *c, f,* and *b-flat*. It was the most difficult syllable of the hexachord to handle, for the novice who was learning his solmisation; and the difficulty turned on the note *b,* which might be either *b-fa* or *b-mi* [29]. In Faburden, however, the singer of the lowest voice *never* sings a *b-mi*. Every *b* sounded as a *b-fa,* including the low *b-fa* above Gamut which Power does not even mention in his *Treatise upon the Gam*. The Faburdener can only sing *a b* in Voice by imagining the *f* a fifth above in Sight; and *f-fa* will always yield *b-fa*. Note that the name must have been invented by someone listening to the total effect from the outside, and not by

28 "Zur Schöpfungsgeschichte...", 121f.; Flasdieck, "Elisab. *Faburden*...", 216ff. Besseler ("Das Ergebnis...") objects that the term *Faburdon* may not be interpreted as the Guidonian *Fa* plus *Burdon* because there is no other example in English where a *composita* is headed by a solmisation syllable. He even quotes Flasdieck to his own purpose, neglecting to say that Flasdieck goes on to make hay of this argument. There are plenty of noun-plus-noun *compositae* in English, and technical jargon is full of unique word-coinings. No one would deny that the Latin word 'solmisare', for example, was formed from Guido's hexachord-syllables, simply because the formation is unique in Latin. Why, the original derivation of these very syllables from the hymn *Ut queant laxis* was itself a unique proceeding!

29 See for example the amusing poem from the late fourteenth century which Francis Lee Utley reprints as "The Choristers' Lament", in *Speculum,* XVI, 1946, 194ff. The wretched pupils speak of 'þat froward file. þat men clipis fa', and one says 'I fayle fast in þe fa: it files al mi fare'.

the Faburdener himself. When the Faburdener sees a plainsong *g* in front of him, he is perfectly at liberty to *imagine* a third above it, *b-mi* in Sight (unless there is a *b-fa* signature in the plainsong, of course), and the result will be an *e-mi* in Voice. But for the outside listener, the absence of the sung note *b-mi* in the Burden, or lowest voice, must have been a startling novelty.

Another result of Faburdening a plainsong is — to use modern terms — that the tonality of the music is shifted strongly to the area of the subdominant: when the plainsong has its tonic, the Faburdener will be singing the fifth below. Does this explain the marked preference for the subdominant region which Besseler [30] has noted in English music of the time? Some medieval writers speak of the flat hexachord as being pathetic in character [31], and this may perhaps help to account for the puzzling reference to *cantus coronatus, scilicet ffaburdon,* which occurs in an earlier tract from the Wylde manuscript (f.58). The whole passage becomes much clearer in the light of what Faburden really was: —

> *Cantus Coronatus Cantus fractus dicitur et ad nullum gradum alligatur sed potest ascendere et descendere in consonancijs perfectis et imperfectis indifferenter. Et Cantus naturalis coronari potest.*

Cantus coronatus must be the plainsong itself, called *Cantus fractus* because it has to be turned into measured music as a Mean for Faburdening; as a plainsong, it is obviously not one of the 'degrees' or parts of English discant, nor is it to be accompanied in discant style; there is no restriction on the number of imperfect consonances (thirds) or — at this date — perfect (fifths) which it may form in conjunction with the Faburden voice beneath; and finally the plainsong, or *cantus naturalis,* may be 'crowned' with an upper fourth by the Treble. Bukofzer gave up this passage in despair, though not without suggesting that it preceded the better-known description of Faburden later on in the manuscript by about forty years [32] — a point of chronology which everyone seems to have missed. Other references to *Cantus coronatus* are rare. De Grocheo's description refers fancifully to *Chant Royal* [33]. But Anonymus 2 particularly associates *falsa musica* with *cantinellis coronatis* [34]; he defines *falsa musica* as *quando locatur b molle vel b quadrum in loco non usitato . . . Ubi ponitur b rotundum dicitur fa.* Sometimes *falsa musica* is used out of necessity, and some-

30 *Bourdon und Fauxbourdon,* 114.

31 See for example A. Pirro, *Histoire de la musique . . .*, Paris 1940, 53.

32 *Geschichte . . .*, 70-71.

33 See the edition by J. Wolf, *SIMG,* I, 91.

34 See E. de Coussemaker, *Op. cit.,* I, 312: *cantus coronatus* in the thirteenth century!

times *causa pulchritudinis, ut patet in cantinellis coronatis*. This suits our explanation very well, though the date is surprisingly early.

Finally, we should note that from the middle of the fourteenth century up to the time of the Old Hall manuscript, the majority of plainsong-settings in English sources place the chant in the middle voice. Faburden, as described by the English Anonymous, therefore grew up plumb in the centre of the English tradition: there is no longer any call to assume that the English exported the raw material of English discant to the continent, in order to re-import it as the finished article, Fauxbourdon [35]. Before moving on to this vexed question, though, it will be as well to search the English sources for any evidence of Faburden that may have survived in art music, and then to read Guilielmus Monachus and the Scottish Anonymous again [36], bearing in mind the early form of Faburden.

From its very nature, Faburden is unlikely to have left many traces in the art-music of the time. As we have seen, it was the lowliest and easiest of the Sight techniques, and neither needed nor merited the dignity of a full realisation on expensive paper or parchment. There is a comparable lack of plainsong-settings in true English discant style. The composers of the time usually preferred the more adventurous methods of Countertenor, Counter, and Countergymel, as Pseudo-Tunstede and Wylde's author described them; they would construct a two-part piece in this way, and then add a third voice on top. Indeed the familiar sequences of Faburden and English discant proper occur most frequently where the composer has not used a plainsong, but has constructed a movement around a tenor or mean of his own making [37]. The obvious place to look for survivals of Faburden is among unpretentious, functional music, such as the simple settings of plainsong in the earlier layers of the Old Hall manuscript, or the carols. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, we find also a few tenor-parts labelled 'Faburden' and similar ones which are not; and finally there are the musical examples of the Scottish Anonymous, which belong (like the organ-settings of Faburdens) to the sixteenth century.

According to Bukofzer [38], there are fifty-seven 'conductus-style' mass movements and antiphons in the Old Hall manuscript which are certainly or probably based on plainsong. No fewer than thirty of these have the chant in the middle voice throughout. Most of them, as we have said, favour the subsidiary practices of Countertenor, Counter and Countergymel.

35 Besseler, "Das Ergebnis . . .", 187.

36 'The Airt of Musick', British Museum, Add. MS 4911; for Faburden f.94ff.

37 See Aleyn's *Gloria,* for example (probably before 1373), in the Old Hall MS, ff.5′-6, published in *The Old Hall Manuscript,* ed. A. Ramsbotham, H. B. Collins and Dom Anselm Hughes, 3 vols, Burnham and London 1933-38, I, 7-10.

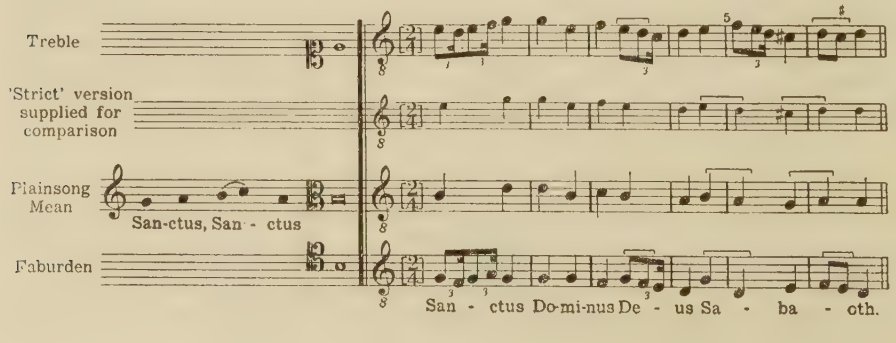
38 In *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music,* London 1951, 47-48.

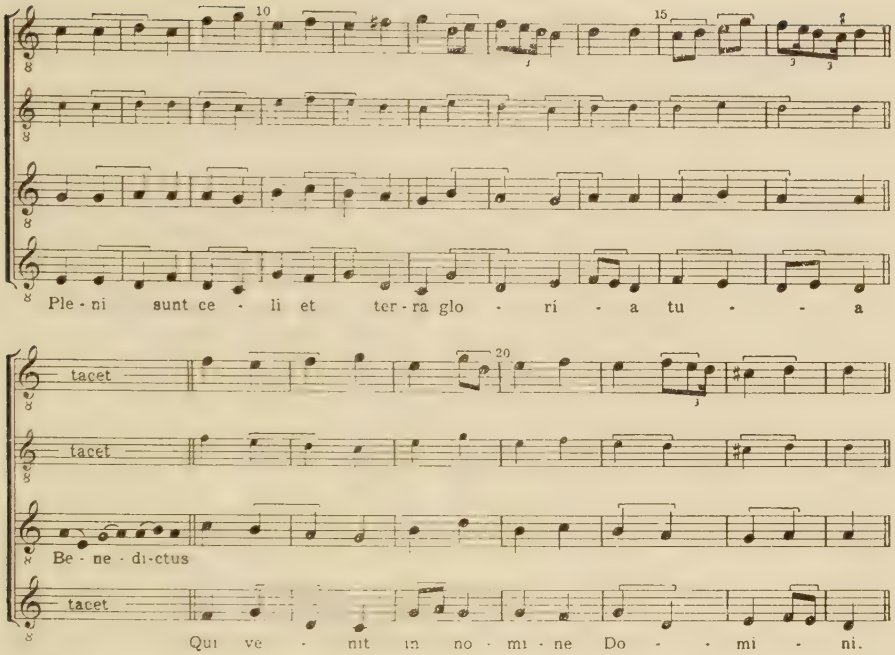
Some examples which are particularly close to Faburden, however, are the following:

(1) *Agnus Dei,* f.105′, Anonymous (III, 125-7) [39]. Apart from the opening unison and two octaves in the course of the piece, the tenor accompanies the plainsong Mean (Sarum 8) on all strong beats with fifths and thirds. The treble proceeds more freely: there is a parallel here with the continental Fauxbourdons which also supply a *contratenor sine Fauxbourdon* as an alternative to the usual 'shadow' line at the fourth below the treble; here the case is reversed, since the mean has the plainsong. The many consecutive fifths suggest an early date for this piece; probably, like our third example below, it hails from the late fourteenth century.

(2) [*Mari*]*a* [or *Exsulta?*] *laude Genitrix,* f.35′, Anonymous (III, 51-53), last section. Except for two octaves, one on a weak beat, the tenor again has fifths and thirds below the mean throughout. Bukofzer failed to identify the apparent plainsong in the mean. Here too the treble is more freely treated.

(3) *Sanctus,* f.87′, Anonymous (III, 32-33). It is worth reprinting this movement as an example, omitting the repeated *Osanna,* which is by way of contrast built on a Countergymel. It can hardly be an accident that the composer used these two distinct techniques to point the contrast of structure. There are a few ornamental and unaccented passing-notes, but otherwise the tenor and the plainsong mean proceed entirely in fifths and thirds on all strong beats. The chant is again Sarum 8 — may we detect the hand of the same composer in this piece and in the *Agnus Dei* discussed above? Here, the treble lightly ornaments the fourth above the plainsong, except for six notes (bars 9, 11-12 and 18); at each of these places the Faburden tenor has consecutive fifths with the mean, so that a strict version of the treble would yield consecutive octaves with the former. In most of the English music of this period we find far more consecutive fifths than octaves, which were clearly disliked: here too the anonymous composer was not ready to sacrifice his sensibility to a formal device.

Example 1

Treble
'Strict' version supplied for comparison
Plainsong Mean
San-ctus, San - ctus
Faburden
San - ctus Do-mi-nus De - us Sa - ba - oth.



Similar examples may be found in the later Worcester Fragments [40], the newly-discovered Fountains Abbey Museum manuscript [41], and the Fountains Fragment [42], to name only a few of the tattered sources which survive.

Turning to the carols of the fifteenth century, we find more traces of Faburden. Plainsong is surprisingly rare amongst the carols; but quite often the composers alternate solo and chorus, repeating the solo line in a three-part setting when the other voices enter. One outstanding example

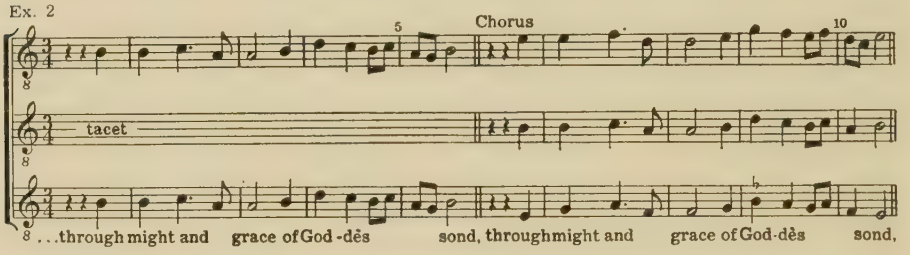
40 See some of the pieces with the chant in the mean in these publications. Dom Anselm Hughes, *Worcester Mediaeval Harmony,* Burnham, 1928, (e.g. nos. 12-13); Luther A. Dittmer, *The Worcester Fragments,* American Insitute of Musicology, 1957, nos. 82a (not printed), 85.

41 See "Fourteenth-century polyphony in a Fountains Abbey MS Book", by H. K. Andrews and Thurston Dart, in *Music and Letters,* 39, January 1958, 1ff.; and Denis Stevens' useful comments in "The Second Fountains Fragment: a Postscript", *Ib.,* April 1958, 148ff.

42 British Museum, Add. MS 40011B, described by Bukofzer in *Studies . . .,* 86ff. Since this article was written, Frank Ll. Harrison's magnificent survey *Music in Medieval Britain* (London, 1958) has appeared; the first complete examination of pre-Reformation music in England, this rich volume is particularly excellent in dealing with the liturgical aspects of medieval music. Ex. 19 (pp. 150-151) is a late fourteenth-century setting of the hymn *O lux beata Trinitas,* from the MS Sloane 1210 in the British Museum; Dr. Harrison gives it as an example of treble *cantus firmus,* with the chant transposed an octave up — but the mean corresponds far more closely to the chant, transposed up a fifth.

is *Alleluia: A new work,* from the Selden manuscript, ff. 21′-22 (no. 30) [43]. Here the upper voice of each two-part section (save the last) is repeated at pitch by the middle voice of each succeeding three-part chorus, while the other voices execute a Faburden round it. The scheme is of course not mathematically exact: if it were, there would be no point in writing it out. But apart from cadential suspensions and some ornamental passing-notes, tenor and mean proceed throughout in fifths and thirds. The single unison in bar 20 is the exception that proves the rule, though a comparison with bars 7-8 would in fact tempt one to emend the note in question. The treble keeps very close to its fourth above the mean. A convenient example is this section of the Verse:

Ex. 2



Te Deum, from the later Ritson manuscript, ff.26′-27 (no. 95) has a special interest, for it is the only carol which bears the actual direction 'Faburden'. John Stevens, Bukofzer [44] and Catherine Miller [45] have already discussed this carol. The Burden and Refrain carry the ornamented plainsong *Te Deum* in the treble, transposed to the fourth above. The Burden is followed by the words *ffaburdon Te eternum* without any music. Dr. Stevens has supplied a second Burden by repeating the music of Burden I and underlaying the new words, adding a mean in the style of English discant. Another solution, proposed by Bukofzer, is to sing the plainsong *Te eternum* in Fauxbourdon. Dr. Stevens feels that this makes the carol into too much of a special case [46]: but the very direction 'ffaburdon' is unique among the carols, so that the piece appears to have been a special case from the beginning. Bukofzer's suggestion makes some sense of the word 'ffaburdon', and ensures that the verse *Te eternum* is sung to the correct liturgical music. To sing the plainsong in Fauxbourdon, however, means transposing the chant to the upper octave — a fifth above the ornamented version in the treble of Burden I, which has the plainsong transposed to the upper fourth. If the *Te eternum* is sung in Faburden

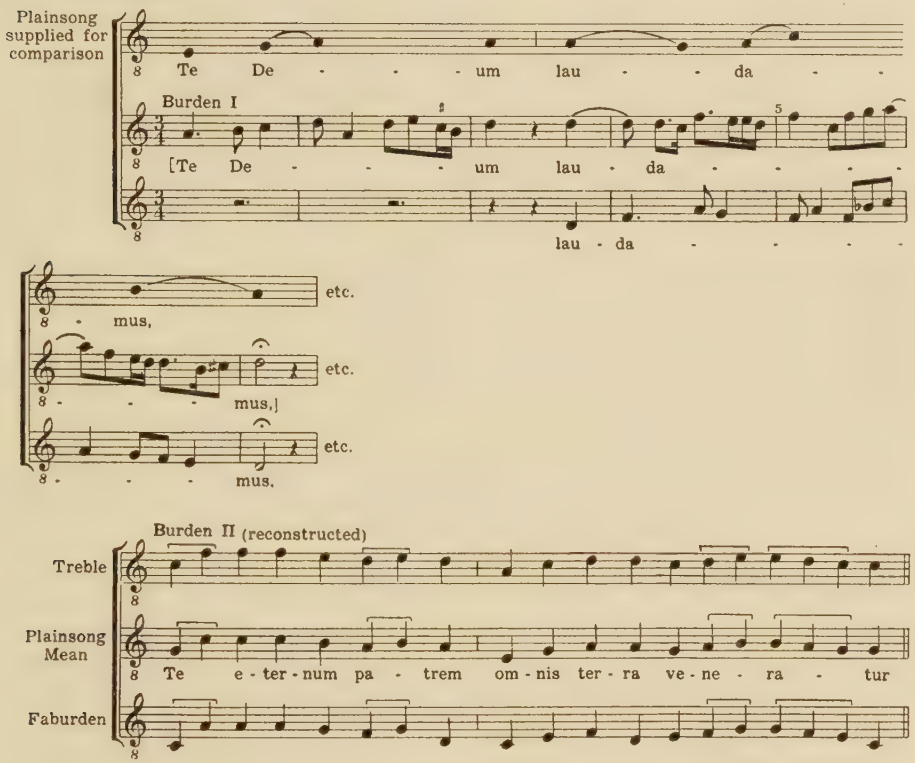
43 Reference is to *Mediaeval Carols,* ed. John Stevens, *Musica Britannica IV,* London 1952.

44 "Fauxbourdon Revisited", 32-33.

45 In *Renaissance News,* iii, 63.

46 See editorial notes, *op. cit.*

though, as the scribe directed, we arrive at a much happier solution. Since the plainsong will then lie at pitch in the mean, the treble will carry it at the fourth above its original pitch; and this chimes in neatly with the 'prepared' transposition of Burden I. An example will make this clear:

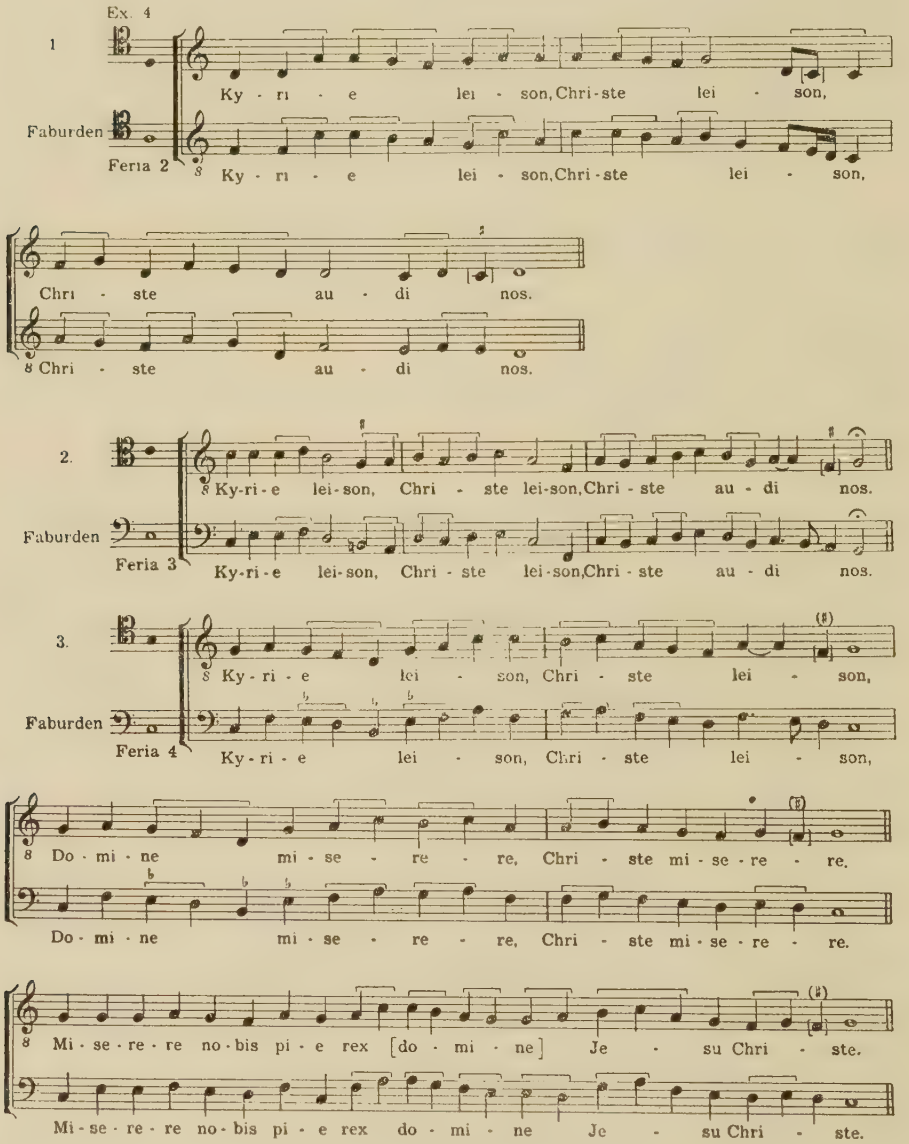
Ex. 3

Plainsong supplied for comparison
Te De - - - um lau - - da - -
Burden I
[Te De - - - um lau - da - - - -
lau - da - - - -
etc.
mus,
etc.
mus,]
etc.
mus.
Burden II (reconstructed)
Treble
Plainsong Mean
Te e - ter - num pa - trem om - nis ter - ra ve - ne - ra - tur
Faburden

In view of this use of Faburden in a carol, another question arises: should we use Faburden in some of the many unison passages that often occur in the carols? See for example *Alma redemptoris mater* (No. 23). The monophonic carols (1A-10A) also tempt conjecture [47].

Turning now to sources from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, we find a new phenomenon: some mensural tenor-parts, three of them actually marked 'Faburden', which turn out to be the lowest parts of Faburden-pieces — Faburdens proper, in fact. Since it was clearly unnecessary to write out Faburdens in full, these tenor-parts presumably stand at the end of the period of development. Five of them have been

47 *Though I sing* (9A) bears the strange heading 'le bon 1. don'; since R. H. Robbins reads this as 'Le bouldon', I scented a reference to 'Bourdon' (*Secular Lyrics of the XIVth and XVth Centuries,* Oxford 1952, 13). But an examination of the MS confirmed Dr. Stevens' impeccable editorship: it must be the name of the tune.

recognised for some time, and have been admirably described by Bukofzer [48] and Denis Stevens [49]. First we have the three litanies from Lambeth 438 (f.80′). Bukofzer suggested that they might be Faburdens, and Stevens confirmed this, without however going further into the matter. Here are the Faburdens, with the plainsongs supplied from ff.121′-122′ of the same manuscript:


Ex. 4
1
Faburden
Feria 2
Ky - ri - e lei - son, Chri - ste lei - son,
Ky - ri - e lei - son, Chri - ste lei - son,
Chri - ste au - di nos.
Chri - ste au - di nos.
2.
Faburden
Feria 3
Ky-ri-e lei-son, Chri - ste lei-son, Chri - ste au - di nos.
Ky-ri-e lei-son, Chri - ste lei-son, Chri - ste au - di nos.
3.
Faburden
Feria 4
Ky - ri - e lei - son, Chri - ste lei - son,
Ky - ri - e lei - son, Chri - ste lei - son,
Do - mi - ne mi - se - re - re, Chri - ste mi - se - re - re.
Do - mi - ne mi - se - re - re, Chri - ste mi - se - re - re.
Mi - se - re - re no - bis pi - e rex [do - mi - ne] Je - su Chri - ste.
Mi - se - re - re no - bis pi - e rex do - mi - ne Je - su Chri - ste.

48 *Geschichte ...*, 123; "Fauxbourdon Revisited", 31.

49 "Processional Psalms in Faburden", in *Musica Disciplina,* IX, 1955, 105ff.

If we adjust the values of the plainsong notes here and there and add a few cadential suspensions, as the Scottish Anonymous and Morley suggest, the Faburdens fit very well. In the first, the plainsong has to be transposed to the upper octave, as in Fauxbourdon. In the second it is kept at pitch, but is treated as the treble: the Faburden sings octaves and sixths below it, again as in Fauxbourdon. In the third litany, however, we have the original method of Faburden: the plainsong proceeds in fifths and thirds above the Faburden. Here then we have three different examples of the later manner of Faburden. In the first two cases, the third part must be supplied at the fourth below the plainsong; in the last, at the fourth above. The style is severely functional, for these litanies were to be sung by three clerks moving in procession, as the rubrics show. The superfluous *b quadratum* in no. 2 is no doubt a warning that the part is not a true Faburden, in which, as we have seen, every *b* had to be sung as *Fa*. The *b*-flats which are needed in no. 3 also involve the Faburdener in a few *e*-flats. After the Faburdens, and in the same hand, the name 'William Dūdy' ('Dundy') is written.

Moving on to the processional psalms *Laudate pueri* and *In exitu Israel,* there is little to add to Mr. Stevens' perceptive remarks [50]. Both Faburdens — which are not labelled as such in the manuscript — imply an octave transposition of the plainsong, as in Fauxbourdon. They are decidedly more metrical than the Lambeth pieces, which do not fall easily into regular bar-lengths, except perhaps for no. 2. *Laudate pueri* is in Ø throughout. *In exitu Israel,* a much longer psalm, is in Ø for six verses (not counting the alternate plainsong verses), has a signature of Ȼ for the next four, and reverts to Ø for the last four. The Harley psalms are unique in that they are a palimpsest: the plainsong notes have been erased in a Sarum processional, and mensural notes substituted. Like the Lambeth litanies, they are written on a four-lined staff: in this we may still trace their ancestry as Sights derived from a written plainsong.

Finally, there is an unspecified Faburden in the Bodleian Library, Digby 167 (f.31′), on a leaf which was printed in facsimile half a century ago [51]. The Faburden is written out in a rare stroke notation: like the other two tenor parts on the same page, it must have been copied for a minstrel or some unlearned performer who could read the pitch of the note on the staff, but had to work out its time-value by counting the number of

50 It is not clear from his article, though, that *In exitu Israel* appears on ff. 67-70 of the MS (British Museum, Harley 2945).

51 In *Early Bodleian Music,* ed. J. Stainer, 2 vols, London 1901, I, pl.XCVIII (facs.) and II, 181.

52 In "Changing Aspects of Mediaeval and Renaissance Music", in *The Musical Quarterly,* 44, Jan. 1958, 16.

strokes. The music is underlaid with the words *Eterne rex altissime et redemptor*; if the plainsong hymn is transposed to the upper octave in Fauxbourdon style, the Digby tune fits beneath it note for note in octaves and sixths. The two other pieces on the same folio are a tenor by one 'Frank', called *Quene note,* which is supplied with a florid treble; and another called *Anxci (Auxci?) bon youre delabonestren.* Bukofzer identified the latter as a Basse Dance, and thought that the former might also be one, in the rhythm of the *quaternaria* [52]. These are odd companions for a plainsong hymn: all the other known Faburdens appear in service-books. No doubt the tuneful office hymns with their repetitive metre were by far the most 'popular' part of the liturgy; and this grouping of Faburden and Basse Dance on the same leaf suggests that the improvisation of the minstrels had something in common with the discant techniques of the church musician [53].

All of these written Faburdens appear to have been copied in the early sixteenth century, or perhaps in the last few years of the fifteenth. Now, Wylde's manuscript was written in the middle of the fifteenth century, while the earliest traces of Faburden in English art music occur in the first layer of the Old Hall manuscript, by about 1400. These late examples of Faburden therefore represent the last developments of a long tradition. William Dundy's Faburden was not quite the same thing as John Wylde's, and this will enable us to explain some of the puzzling remarks of Guilielmus Monachus.

For one thing, Dundy's Faburden-tenors and others like them must have been copied out for singers unacquainted with the original techniques of Faburden: in order to turn these tenors into a polyphonic setting in either Faburden or Fauxbourdon, the upper two parts have to be derived from the lowest by using the Mean and Treble Sights of English discant, and as a result, the plainsong will appear at the required pitch, in one of the upper voices. Furthermore, Dundy understood by the term Faburden three related but distinct techniques: Ex. 4 includes (a) the form which we recognise as continental Fauxbourdon, with the plainsong transposed to the upper octave in the treble, (b) a similar form which is found only

53 The collections of mensural tenor-parts in British Museum, Lansdowne MS 462 and the Vatican Lib., MS Reg. Lat. 1146 do not appear to contain any Faburdens. This is not so surprising, for these tenors, like those of the Bayeux MS, all seem to have been lifted bodily from polyphonic pieces. (See concordances in Bukofzer, *Studies . . .*, 38-41). The fact that one of the Lansdowne tenors appears in the Old Hall MS as the lowest voice of an anonymous *Sanctus* (f.84′; ed. III, 20ff.), in which the plainsong *migrates* between the Lansdowne tenor and the middle voice, shows that the tenors were not all intended *per se* as counterpoints to plainsong. My friends Dr. Hugh Baillie and Mr. Jeremy Noble are preparing a complete study of these monophonic tenors.

in British sources, where the plainsong is sung at pitch in the treble and accompanied beneath after the manner of Fauxbourdon, and (c) the original form of Faburden as John Wylde described it. Of these techniques, (a) was the most popular: four examples survive, while (b) and (c) muster only one each [54]. Setting aside for the moment the question of how these forms developed, we shall now look again at what Guilielmus Monachus and the Scottish Anonymous had to say on the subject of Faburden and Fauxbourdon.

[54] Dr. Harrison has unearthed several more Faburden-tenors, some monophonic and some embedded in polyphonic pieces — settings of Faburdens for voices which foreshadow the later organ arrangements of Faburdens. There are four single Faburden-tenors to Rogation Kyrie litanies (cf. the Lambeth MS) in the Bodleian Lib., MS. Rawl. liturg. e. 45, ff.57′-58 and 59′-60′ (not ff.57′-61′, as stated in *Music in Medieval Britain,* 411). They are all examples of Fauxbourdon, with the octave transposition of the chant in the treble. The Pepys MS 1236 of Magdalene College, Cambridge, contains a polyphonic setting of the Faburden to one of these Litanies — *not* Fauxbourdon, since the chant fits in fifths and thirds at pitch above the tenor (Harrison, *op. cit.*, 410ff.). Ex. 140 (p. 356) gives the Faburden on which Sheppard built his setting of the processional psalm *Laudate pueri* (in the Gyffard part-books, British Museum, Add. MS 17802-5): Dr. Harrison transposes the plainsong up a fourth as if it were a case of Fauxbourdon, but the chant fits at pitch in Faburden. The anonymous setting of *Alma chorus domini,* also from the Gyffard books (ex. 189, p. 393) is also based on Faburden: for the first two bars of the example, the bass is the *treble* line of the Faburden transposed down an octave, for the last two, it is the Faburden-tenor itself. All these settings are *alternatim* arrangements. This suggests another thought: several *alternatim* pieces quoted by Dr. Harrison employ the chant transposed to the upper fourth (sometimes the lower fifth); and some are, he implies, built on the Fauxbourdon of the chant similarly transposed, as is the *Laudate pueri* of Sheppard already cited. Transposition to the fourth above is not a regular practice in Fauxbourdon; but if a chant is Faburdened, then the treble naturally sings the chant at the fourth above. Applying Occam's razor and seeking the simpler solution, we ought therefore to assume that in any such *alternatim* setting, the intervening choral verses were sung in true Faburden, not in 'Fauxbourdon-with-the-plainsong-transposed-to-the-upper-fourth': see for example the processional prose *Gloria laus* (exx. 210-211, pp. 407f.), the processional antiphon *Collegerunt* (p. 408, n. 3), the troped lesson *Laudes Deo* (ex. 198, pp. 400f.) — all from the Pepys MS —, Sheppard's respond and prose *Gaude, gaude, gaude Maria* (exx. 194ff., pp. 397ff., from Oxford, Christ Church MSS 979-983), Ludford's sequence *Laetabundus* (ex. 188, p. 392, from British Museum, Roy. App. 45-48). By contrast, cases where Fauxbourdon (or Faburden transposed to the upper fifth) have been used are: the anonymous hymn *O lux beata Trinitas,* from the Pepys MS (ex. 177, p. 383) — here again the mean is slightly more faithful to the chant, transposed to the fifth above —, Banester's setting of the hymn *Exsultet celum laudibus* from the same source (ex. 176, pp. 382f.) — he uses Fauxbourdon — and the anonymous troped *Kyrie Deus creator omnium* from MS Archer 2 of the Shakespeare Birthplace Lib., Stratford-on-Avon (ex. 61, p. 278), which is a lightly stylised Fauxbourdon. These examples alone show how lavish and detailed are Dr. Harrison's musical illustrations.

The treatise of Guilielmus has already provided a focus for some dispute. Nothing is known of the author, save that his work dates from the last third of the fifteenth century, and survives in a copy from that period — not the original — made by a North Italian scribe. Bukofzer has shown that Coussemaker's edition of the tract is incomplete and faulty, and he gives better readings which we shall adopt here [55]. Besseler, Handschin and Bukofzer have disagreed over certain of Guilielmus' remarks [56]; the gist of their complaints was that the author had described under the title *Faulxbourdon* two or three different styles, only one of which was true Fauxbourdon (by this they understood the continental model) — and that Guilielmus attributed this to the English school. Now if we read Guilielmus with our new knowledge of Faburden in mind, many of the 'difficulties' vanish. Indeed, he shows such an understanding of late fifteenth-century Faburden that one can hardly help concluding that he was English after all — a view that has lately been out of favour. He may perhaps have been the 'misser Gulielmo inglese', a chaplain whom Bartholomeo di Fiandra engaged on behalf of the Duke of Ferrara in Antwerp during the last third of the fifteenth century [57]. Here are some of the reasons for this unexpected conclusion.

Bukofzer has convincingly proved that in the chapter *De Modis Anglicorum,* Guilielmus apparently describes English discant under the incorrect title *modus faulxbourdon* [58]. He explains there how to derive two upper parts from a written tenor. The supranus is to imagine unisons with and thirds below the tenor but should set his voice an octave higher, so that he in fact sings octaves and sixths above the tenor, beginning and ending each phrase with an octave: in other words, this is our old friend the Treble Sight of English discant. The contra is to sing fifths and thirds above the tenor, beginning and ending each phrase with a fifth, without using the Sights. The musical examples make it quite clear that

55 *Geschichte . . .*, 154ff.

56 Besseler, *Bourdon . . .*, 105-8; J. Handschin, "Eine umstrittene Stelle bei Guilielmus Monachus", in *Kongressbericht Basel,* 1949, 145ff.; Bukofzer, "Fauxbourdon Revisited", 43-46.

57 E. Motta, "Musici alla corte degli Sforza", in *Archivio storico Lombardo,* series 2, LV, 1887, quotes the document from Van der Straeten, *La musique aux Pays Bas avant le XIXe. siècle,* (8 vols), Bruxelles, 1867-68, VI, 73. The letter is fifteenth-century, but undated. However, Duke Ercole I did not found his chapel until Dec. 1471, so that he would not have engaged a clerk in orders much before that date (see L. F. Valdrighi, "Capelle, concerti e musiche di casa d'Este", in *Atti e memorie delle RR. deputazioni di storia patria per le provincie modenesi,* series III, vol. II, Modena 1883, 415-495). In 1475 there were among the *cantori* a Bartolomeo Raimondo and a Guglielmo di Fiandra — the only Guglielmo in the surviving records.

58 Coussemaker, *op. cit.,* III, 288aff.; see n.56 for the comments of Bukofzer.

the result is English discant, if the tenor is a plainsong. But Guilielmus' tenor is not a plainsong; nor does his text prescribe a plainsong tenor at this point. He only talks about 'the tenor', and further says that he is describing *Faulxbourdon* as practised by the English. Now, we have already shown that Dundy, writing soon after Guilielmus, used the term Faburden in the broadest sense and included Fauxbourdon under that heading. Guilielmus, who wrote for the continental market, no doubt used the current term Fauxbourdon in a similar way, and included Faburden in his definition. In short, there is no contradiction at all in his chapter *De Modis Anglicorum*: he is merely describing the English practise of realising a three-part Faburden-piece from a prepared Faburden-tenor such as those we find in the Lambeth manuscript. We have shown above that these tenors must be discanted in this way; the resulting piece may be a true Faburden, a true Fauxbourdon, or a Fauxbourdon-at-pitch, but the same method — English discant — holds good for each. Guilielmus, it seems, was not such an ignoramus after all in this instance. How about the rest of his treatise?

Guilielmus' next chapter dealing with Fauxbourdon is the *Regulae Contrapuncti Anglicorum* [59], and some writers have said that it flatly contradicts what has gone before. It would be more charitable to assume that Guilielmus did not set out to confuse and mislead his pupils. In the earlier chapter he told how to reconstruct a complete Faburden-piece (in the meaning of the later fifteenth century) from the written tenor-part. What he now does is to describe Faburden-Fauxbourdon from another angle: that of the singer who has in front of him not a prepared Faburden-tenor, but the plainsong itself. He talks here for the first time of a *cantus firmus*. Here is the gist of what he writes:

(1) *Fauxbourdon is a common English practice.*

(2) *It is sung with three voices, tenor, contratenor and supranus.*

(3) *If it is sung in the English manner, it should be assumed that the supranus is the cantus firmus* — 'debet assumi supranum cantum firmum [esse]' — *and the said cantus firmus should govern the supranus or cantus; but this is to be understood in triple time, whether in mood, tempus or prolation* — triple time, in contrast to the French manner, which adopted duple time about 1430, as Besseler has pointed out [60]; it is worth noting here that triple time-signature in mood, time and prolation remained in use in English music until the sixteenth century. This again shows that Guilielmus knew what he was talking about. In this sentence he is clearly describing Fauxbourdon proper, with the *cantus firmus* in the treble; he does not say that the plainsong is to be transposed up an

59 Coussemaker, *op. cit.*, 292aff.

60 Besseler, *ib.* 106.

octave, but the succeeding example makes this clear (it is out of place, as Handschin suggested: Bukofzer confirmed the fact); this must of course be the reason for the curious phrasing of this passage, 'debet *assumi* . . . debet *regere* supranum'.

(4) *The first note of the cantus firmus should be doubled in length* — in order to allow the tenor to move up from the octave below to the sixth, as in the example.

(5) *If after the first two notes* [of the cantus firmus] *there should follow two* [successive] *notes at the same pitch, the first of them should make an ornamental transition leading up to the second from below* — 'prima debet facere transitum sive passagium sub eodeum puncto et sono'. This too is shown in the example.

(6) *The last note should also be expanded to make a similar transition* — to effect a cadence, as in the example.

(7) *Fauxbourdon, then, is to be sung with three voices, keeping to the stated rules,* — i.e. (3-6) above —

'sed quando habeat supranus pro consonantiis primam, octavam et reliquas sextas, et in fine concordiarum sit octava, hoc est habet sextas et octavas pro consonantiis supra tenorem, contratenor vero debet tenere dictum modum suprani;

'sed quando habeat pro consonantiis tertiam et quintam altas, hoc est primam, quintam, reliquias tertias, ultimus vero finis concordiarum sit quinta, ut patet per exemplum'.

The force of this passage seems to have escaped the notice of earlier writers. They took it that the second part of the quotation referred to the contratenor, although the contratenor is *not* given in the example referred to. Surely the parallel construction 'sed quando . . . vero . . . sed quando . . . vero' and the use of the subjunctive mood imply a balanced contrast, with 'supranus' as the subject in each case. Otherwise Guilielmus could perfectly well have begun the first part with 'supranus habet . . .' and the second with 'contratenor habet . . .'. A translation should therefore run: —

But when the supranus has [sc. 'if the supranus should have'] *for consonances first an octave and the rest sixths, with an octave at the end — i.e. it has sixths and octaves as consonances above the tenor — then the contratenor should keep to the said manner of the supranus;*

but when it [the supranus] *has for consonances the upper third and fifth — i.e. first a fifth, the rest thirds — then the last chord must be a fifth, as it appears from the example.*

First Guilielmus describes a Fauxbourdon-treble; then a Faburden-mean in Wylde's manner. The example for the latter is missing, as is the example for his next paragraph; nor does he describe how to add a third part — perhaps the first 'sed' in the passage quoted prepares the way

for the coming exception to the rule that Fauxbourdon is sung with three voices. Final proof that our translation is right occurs eight paragraphs further on, where the author describes how to add a contratenor bassus beneath the tenor of a Fauxbourdon-piece. This can be done, says Guilielmus 'si *Faulxbordon* faciat supranum suum per sextas et octavas': an alternative form is clearly implied, and indeed his rules do not hold good for a Faburden-piece.

(8) It was this paragraph in particular which aroused dispute between Besseler, Handschin and Bukofzer: *'However, the manner of Fauxbourdon might be taken differently in our country, not by keeping to the above rules, but by keeping the actual cantus firmus as it stands* (or 'is written'), *and by keeping the same consonances stated above, in the supranus as in the contratenor, with however the possibility of making syncopations by sixths and fifths, the penultimate note being a sixth, and the contratenor doing likewise, as it shall appear from the example'*. Bukofzer correctly held that 'proprium cantum firmum sicut stat' simply means 'untransposed'; it would strain the Latin to say that 'sicut stat' refers to absence of ornamentation or to a *res facta,* as Handschin and Besseler respectively thought. Bukofzer goes on: 'the inserted paragraph is actually a brief return to English discant, which Guilielmus describes more fully at another place in the treatise' — in other words, in the chapter *De Modis Anglicorum*. Bukofzer accepted the view that Guilielmus was either Italian or writing in Italy as an adopted continental: he therefore had to explain the 'apud nos' in the passage under discussion by saying that English discant was also practised on the continent. This is undeniable: but why, in that case, should Guilielmus describe English discant as an especially continental practice, contrasting it with 'English' Fauxbourdon? As we have found, he knew quite a lot about English music. Assume that 'apud nos' is *not* a contrast, and that the writer was writing this chapter from the point of view of an Englishman writing for continentals — his title for this passage is after all *Regulae Contrapuncti Anglicorum* — and the final piece of the puzzle falls into place. Guilielmus, whom we may now call William the Monk, is here explaining the specifically British practice ('apud nos') of Fauxbourdon with the plainsong *at pitch* in the upper voice and the lowest voices proceeding at the usual intervals below it [61]. The second of the Lambeth litanies provides an example; and the practice is also demonstrated by the Scottish Anonymous.

61 Guilielmus' remarks about the supranus making syncopations with sixths and fifths, and the contratenor doing likewise, can hardly refer to the example of syncopation at the end of the treatise, as Handschin and Bukofzer suggest — even though the example is written in the Treble Sight of English discant. If the contratenor is there supplied at the fourth below the upper voice, the result is a cacophonous sequence of accented seconds, when the tenor is ascending; when the tenor

From all this we can see that Guilielmus, writing towards the end of the fifteenth century, had a clear idea of what the terms Faburden and Fauxbourdon then implied. He used the French word, presumably because his audience was continental, just as Dundy used the English word in England. Whatever the name, by this date Faburden and Fauxbourdon were regarded as much the same thing. Guilielmus also knew the insular practice of Fauxbourdon-at-pitch. All in all, we may probably assume that he was an English monk who, like Hothby and the mysterious Robertus Anglicus [62], made Italy his home for a time. Since, as we have shown, he was in fact well informed about Faburden and Fauxbourdon in English music — he does not so much as mention any French or Burgundian contribution — his insistence that England was the home of the technique can no longer be disregarded. He is an important witness, if we hear him without prejudice.

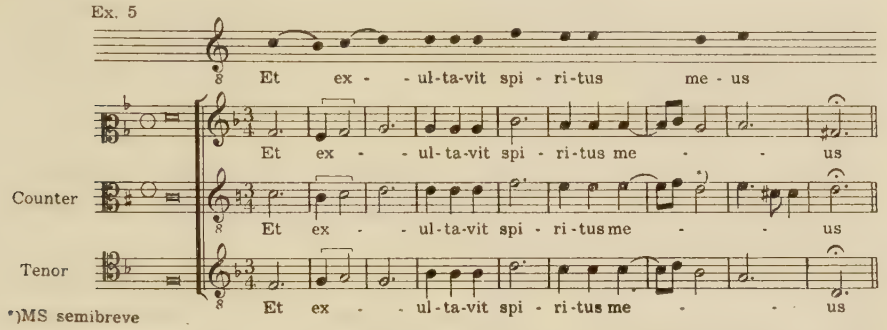
The treatise of the Scottish Anonymous stands right at the end of the history of Faburden. Bukofzer and Georgiades accepted the dating 'after 1517' — the writer quotes Ornithoparcus. Neither seems to have noticed that there is a date included in the long chapter dealing with Faburden. In a discussion of the Magnificat tones [63], the writer says: 'Of the quhilk aucht townis the choristers ar all expert and dayly dois vss þe samy in kirks of god throcht all christianytie Except þe reallm of Scottland send þe ȝeir of god ane thouwsand fyvehundret fyvftie and aucht ȝeir'. Later than 1558, then — surprising proof of the tenacity of Faburden.

There is no need to dwell on what the Scottish Anonymous has to say: Bukofzer and Georgiades sum up his clear (though longwinded) directions very well [64]. He does not describe the original form of Faburden, but discusses everything from the viewpoint of Fauxbourdon. He also explains several hybrid forms like the Fauxbourdon with contratenor bassus that we find in Guilielmus' work. It is interesting to look through his musical examples, though: no less than six out of the eighteen preserve

falls, the effect is a more pleasing succession of $^{7}/_{4}$ chords revolving on to $^{6}/_{3}$ chords. The example is merely an illustration of the paragraph before, "Regulae circa cognitionem syncoparum", which deals with syncopation in two voices, not three. Guilielmus has used Treble Sight here as a useful way of getting both voices on to the same staff by writing the upper part an octave lower. He describes this practice earlier on (Coussemaker, *op. cit.* 291a): 'Nota quod ad habendam perfectam perfectionem consonantiarum acutarum, nota quod unisonus accipitur pro octava'. The fact that he naturally uses Treble Sight in this way also hints that he is probably English.

62 See H. Davey, *History of English Music* (2nd. ed.), London 1921, 56. Fr. X. Haberl ("Die römische "Schola Cantorum" und die päpstlichen Kapellsänger bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts", in *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 1887, III, 189-296) records a Robertus Anglicus in 1485 as papal singer, and a Robertus de Anglia in 1492. This cannot have been Robert Morton as Davey suggests, for

the plainsong at pitch in the middle part, although he does not usually bother to write out the mean himself. Here is an example where he does:

Ex. 5

Et ex - - ul-ta-vit spi - ri-tus me - us
Et ex - - ul-ta-vit spi - ri-tus me - - us
Counter
Et ex - - ul-ta-vit spi - ri-tus me - - us
Tenor
Et ex - - ul-ta-vit spi - ri-tus me - - us
*)MS semibreve

He has turned the plainsong into triple measure, ignored the ligatures, and added an extra bar at the end. Otherwise this setting of the seventh tone (ff.101′-2) could have furnished an example for John Wylde's manuscript. Note the written *b*-flats in the outer parts only, and the cautionary *b-quadratum* in the Counter. There can be little doubt that these examples with the plainsong at pitch in the middle part, which include a litany (f.96′), *Te Deum* (f.98) and *Sanctus* (f.98), are traditional survivals from the older form of the previous century — though the writer himself describes them only from the point of view of the treble, which is, he says, transposed to the fourth above instead of to the octave. One setting preserves the plainsong at its original pitch in the treble, *Salvator mundi* (f.97). Here again, as in the similar Lambeth litany (no. 2), there is an unnecessary *b-quadratum* in the tenor part, warning the singer that the *b* is not to be sung as *Fa*.

There is one other sixteenth-century source which might possibly

he died in 1475 (see J. Marix, *Histoire de la Musique et des Musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne . . .*, Strasbourg 1939, 210). Nor can Morton have been the (same?) Robertus de Anglia who was earlier on *magister cantus* in S. Petronio, Bologna, from 1467-72 (see G. Gaspari, "Ragguagli sulla capella musicale della Basilica di S. Petronio in Bologna", in *Atti e memorie della deputazione storica in Romagna,* Bologna 1868, Anno 7, 184-195; and Id., "La musica in S. Petronio . . .", *Ib.* 1870, Anno 9, 1-35). No doubt Ramis de Pareia came across a treatise by Robertus when he arrived in Bologna, for he berated this apparently rather old-fashioned Englishman in his *Musica Practica* (1482), over a question of time-signatures. See the edition by J. Wolf in *Publikationen der I.M.G.,* Beihefte II, Leipzig, 1901, 71. Mr Thurston Dart, who has greatly improved this article by his suggestions, puts forward Robert Wydow as a likely candidate — he is said to have travelled, but no-one knows where.

63 British Museum, Add. 4911, f. 102′.

64 Bukofzer, *Geschichte . . .*, 85ff.; Georgiades, *Englische Diskanttraktate . . .*, 95ff.

yield further evidence: the many English organ pieces which are arrangements of Faburdens — usually Faburdens to plainsong hymns. Since however the normal plainsong-settings in the Mulliner Book, for example, tend to transpose the chant fairly freely, this line of enquiry would probably not take us much further: if the plainsongs were sometimes transposed, then their Faburdens were probably treated in the same way, so that we cannot safely deduce which type of Faburden was used — whether Faburden proper, Fauxbourdon, or Fauxbourdon at pitch. One example discussed by Bukofzer is Redford's *O Lux on the Faburden* [65]. Here the plainsong would fit at its original pitch in octaves and sixths above the Faburden, which is the bass of Redford's setting. In this particular piece we may also trace the chant, highly ornamented and transposed down a fourth, in almost every bar of the middle part; this is almost certainly a coincidence. All these Faburden-settings for organ appear to have been used for *alternatim* performance: presumably then, the other (choral) verses must have been sung in Faburden. In a normal *alternatim* setting of plainsong, the chant itself would be present throughout; here, the Faburden has usurped its place, so that the plainsong is heard only in the choral verses. These pre-Reformation organ pieces show how popular Faburden had become [66]. Even Morley (1597) mentions the practice — admittedly with a rather highbrow sneer [67].

The above is a first sketch for a new history of Faburden over two hundred years of English music, and much will have to be done before it is varnished and framed. One point still needs further research: Besseler's

[65] "Fauxbourdon Revisited", 30; the piece is easily accessible (with one or two other Faburden-settings) in Denis Stevens' edition, *The Mulliner Book,* (*Musica Britannica* I), London 1951, 23f.

[66] For further examples see H. Miller's examination of the collection in British Museum, Add. MS 29996, ff.158-178′ — which has approving comments from Thomas Tomkins in the seventeenth century! — in *The Musical Quarterly,* XXVI, Jan. 1940, 50ff.; some corrections in Bukofzer, *op. cit.* Dr. Harrison quotes some further cases; Avery Burton's organ setting of *Te Deum* (*alternatim*), for example (*op. cit.,* ex. 187, pp. 390-391). *Te Deum* was regularly set in Faburden like this; the two surviving choral settings of *Te Deum,* one by Taverner and one anonymous, also have the unusual transposition of Burton's piece — down one tone. Taverner's arrangement uses the chant itself; the anonymous setting, like Burton's, uses either the Fauxbourdon bass (chant transposed a tone below pitch in the treble) or the Faburden (chant transposed down a fifth in the mean). Probably the former; these are two possible ways of describing the same result. Either would help to explain the further transposition which invariably takes place in both organ and choral arrangements at vv. 21 and 22 — the music moves down another fourth, right through to the end of the piece (*op. cit.,* 388-390).

[67] Thomas Morley, ed. R. A. Harman, *A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music* London 1952, 206f.; note that his example implies Fauxbourdon-at-pitch.

contention that Fauxbourdon was invented and named by Dufay in 1427, and that the English then took up the practice as a technique of improvisation [68]. We have seen that the original form of Faburden developed quite naturally from a fusion of extemporised discant and the English preference for placing the chant in the middle voice; and there are traces of Faburden in English musical sources from about 1400, if not earlier. Faburden could not have developed from Fauxbourdon, then, since the earliest evidence for the latter occurs only in the late 1420s. Hitherto, the earliest known reference to the *word* 'Faburden' in English sources has been a Durham indenture of 1447. However, it is an easy matter to assign a date to the letter which Richard Cliffe, second vicar-prebendal of Hemingbrough College, wrote to his superior, the Prior of Durham [69]. Cliffe held his post from 1427 to 1460, so that no-one has been able to use his undated letter as exact evidence. But he informs the Prior that "a felay of ouris, Sir John Rocliff, ye fifte vicare, has forsakyne his vicary, and is institute and inducte in a perpetuall chauntery at Hull'. And he goes on to request that the vacant post should be given to an unnamed acquaintance of his, now "at Lichfelde, in ye college, in abitte", who is "als we her say, of connyng sufficiante in redynge and sigynge [*singing*] of plane sange and te synge a tribull til faburdun, als I have harde ye abilaste men of our kirke say and recorde of hyme". I have found no record of Sir John Rocliff in Hull; but turning to another page of Thomas Burton's book, we find some useful lists of the vicars-prebendal of Hemingbrough. 'John Rowcliff' was presented to his post on the 25th of April 1427 and installed on the 20th of November. The date of his departure for Hull is not given; but one William Watkinson, no doubt Cliffe's worthy friend, was duly presented to Rowcliff's post on the 27th of November, 1432. The letter was therefore written between 1427 and 1432, probably towards the end of the period. The term Faburden, then, was current by 1432 in Hemingbrough (Yorks.), Durham and Lichfield, all of them provincial towns remote from such musical centres as London and Windsor; so it must have been coined at least ten years before — about 1420 or earlier, in fact. Indeed, Cliffe's letter rather suggests that any vicar-prebendal in any college was expected to be able to sing a treble to a Faburden-piece: if this was the case, we are probably justified in pushing the date much further back. No doubt churchmen resisted innovation then as they do today, taken by and large. Note that Cliffe refers to the original form of Faburden:

68 Summed up in *"Das Ergebnis . . .", op. cit.*

69 Printed by Thomas Burton in his *The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Hemingbrough in the Country of York* (ed. and enlarged by James Raine), Yorks, Arch. Soc. Extra Series, No. 1, York 1888, Document XIII; for Cliffe and Rocliff, pp. 82-3; for 'ye' read 'þe', no doubt.

his candidate can read and sing plainsong, and sing a treble to the Faburden.

The evidence of date confirms the evidence of style, therefore: Faburden preceded Fauxbourdon. Dufay did not 'overtrump' English discant, as Besseler maintained: he was content to follow suit. (It would really be better to abandon this metaphor: great composers do not usually wrangle for precedence or count their tricks in this way). The question remains: who first had the idea of altering the original form of Faburden, so that the plainsong lay in the top voice instead of in the mean? Since England was the birthplace of the first Faburden, it seems only logical to assume that the sister-technique of Fauxbourdon was also born (though not named) on this side of the Channel; it would have travelled to the continent as a technique of improvisation, to be adopted by Dufay and others as the form that we find in the sources, partly art-music and partly extemporisation. The continental type first appears in the late 1420s: what relation does it bear to true Faburden?

If the English had already taken the step of transferring the plainsong to the treble voice by this date, the answer is simple enough. All that the continental composers had to do was to 'fix' the improvisation on paper by writing down the essentials. If the English were still using true Faburden exclusively, there are two possibilities. Either the continentals misheard the English treble line as the plainsong itself — an easy mistake for listeners reared on the French-Burgundian *chanson,* particularly if the English coloured the treble with additional ornament; or else Dufay or one of his contemporaries hit on the idea of shifting the chant to the treble. Which answer is the most likely?

The first, on the face of it. Besseler has raised the objections however that the use of the chant in the treble was almost unknown in English music before about 1430, and that the *chanson* style, with the main musical interest lying in the decorated upper voice, was also unfamiliar to English composers before that date [70]. Certainly, treble *cantus firmus* was not common in English music until the 1420s: but it was by no means unheard-of. The first known use of chant in the treble is of English origin, as Bukofzer has shown [71], and there are similar pieces to be found in fourteenth-century English music which are undoubtedly older than the Apt hymns [72]. There are eight (perhaps nine) examples in the Old Hall

[70] See n. 68.

[71] The setting of *Sanctus* in Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, MS. 334, ff.1-1′; see Bukofzer, *Geschichte . . .*, 115.

[72] For example, the setting of the hymn *Gloria laus et honor* in Dittmer, *op. cit.*, 161f.; such pieces are rare, but then so are the sources — it is enough that the habit persisted, and was developed in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries by the Old Hall composers.

manuscript, one (or two) by William or John Excetre: the former's career can be traced back to 1384 [73], the latter's right back to the reign of Edward III [74]. Three later examples by Leonel Power and Oliver clearly foreshadow the methods of Dunstable [75]. All these pieces occur in the earliest layer of the source, which was probably copied when Dufay was still in his teens. Furthermore, these settings are part of a continuous tradition, while the Apt hymns appear to have been an isolated experiment, and a clumsy one at that. By Dunstable's time, mean *cantus firmus* was almost unknown, for there is only one example in his entire surviving output: apart from his isorhythmic masses and motets, which do not concern us here, there are two cases of tenor *cantus firmus,* one with the chant in the mean, and five where Dunstable decorates the plainsong in the treble [76]. The same proportions hold good for the later works of Leonel Power, and for those of Dunstable's contemporaries — and Dunstable (d. 1453) and Power (d. 1445) belong to the generation *before* Dufay (d. 1474). The habit of placing the chant in the treble is at least as English as it is continental.

Chanson style, in which the lower voices are subdued to throw the finely-drawn, decorated treble into greater relief, was also well enough known to English composers of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Bukofzer quotes one tract which deals with fourteenth-century music, though it is written in a fifteenth-century hand: whoever wants to compose a *ballade, rondeau, virelai,* or psalm, says the anonymous writer, 'fiat primo discantus' [77]. The anonymous authors of the *Quatuor principalia musicae (1351?),* describing a rudimentary form of English discant, say of the singers of the upper parts: 'frangere debent et florere notas prout magis decet' [78]. They even have a chapter which tells how the sacrosanct tenor itself may be ornamented in this way. There is very little secular music surviving in English sources of the period, admittedly, but we must allow for the wholesale destruction of manuscripts that has blighted our

73 See my article "Heinrich IV", in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart,* ed. F. Blume, VI, 1957, 62.

74 See my article, "A fourteenth-century ceremonial motet and its composer", in *Acta Musicologica,* 29, 1957, 65ff.

75 For Power, see the edition, *op. cit.,* III, 66ff.; for Oliver, *ib.,* 81ff. and 86ff.

76 See Bukofzer's edition, *John Dunstable, Complete Works,* (*Musica Britannica VIII*), London 1953.

77 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 410, pt. II, ff.7'-8; quoted in Bukofzer, "Fauxbourdon Revisited", 38. Dr. Harrison cites a fourteenth-century example of ornamental treble in a Magnificat from the Bodleian Lib., MS Lat. Th. e. 30 (*op. cit.,* ex. 126, p. 346); cases could be multiplied.

78 Coussemaker, *op. cit.,* IV, 294-5.

knowledge of fourteenth-century English music for so long [79]. Chaucer wrote at least one roundel to music by a French composer [80]. An important Machaut manuscript was for a time in English possession [81]. And finally, the music of the Old Hall manuscript shows that the English had thoroughly absorbed *chanson* style [82]. The source even contains music by Mayshuet (Mayhuet de Joan or Matheus de Sancto Johanne), a French composer of the late *ars nova,* and the opening of a *Gloria* by Antonio Zachara da Teramo, a late *Trecento* composer who has left us a *Gloria anglicana* elsewhere. By the time of Power and Dunstable, every English composer used *chanson* style almost all the time, with or without a plainsong in the treble; and since there are English works in this style in the same source that contains the earliest Fauxbourdons by continental composers [83], it is clear that the English had made this language their own before the advent of Fauxbourdon on the continent. A later witness, Martin le Franc, after praising the English for their 'frisque concordance', goes on to single out their melodic style for special mention [84]: 'en fainte en pause et en muance' — these are all melodic terms. The pupils were now teaching their masters.

The English, then, were quite capable of developing Fauxbourdon from Faburden without further assistance from the continent. The change from mean to treble *cantus firmus* probably took place about the middle of Power's lifetime, before English music started to appear in continental sources: by then the composer's interest had shifted from the mean to the treble. One interesting example is the carol *Abide, I hope it be the best* [85], which occurs both in the Selden Manuscript, dating from about 1450, and in the Trinity Roll, which in spite of its void notation is probably some twenty years older. (The well-known Agincourt carol, *Deo gracias, Anglia,* which must have been written within a decade of the battle (1415), appears in the Trinity Roll with a prolation time-signature, but in the Selden manuscript in the later fashion of *tempus perfectum). Abide, I hope* ... is the only carol in the older source written in *tempus per-*

79 My friends Mr. Denis Stevens and Mr. Jeremy Noble are preparing a long-needed study and edition of English fourteenth-century mass-music — fragments and all.

80 "The note, I trowe, maked was in France" *(Parlement of Foules,* 1.677).

81 Paris, Bib. Nat., MS frç. 9221; the Duke of Clarence had it of the Duke of Berry in 1412. It was later returned, apparently. (F. Ludwig (ed.), *G. de Machaut Musikalische Werke,* II, Einleitung, Leipzig 1928, p. 11*, note 1).

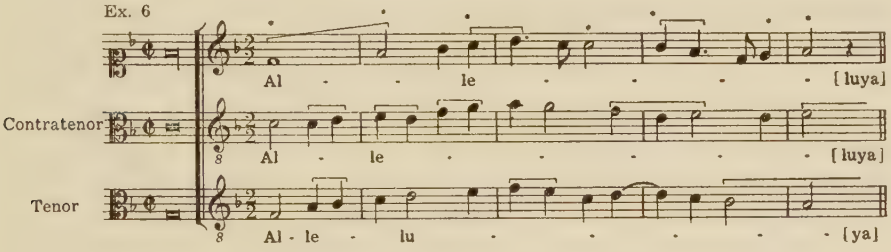
82 See Bukofzer, *Studies* ..., 54ff.

83 Bologna, Conservatorio di Musica G-B. Martini (*olim* Liceo Musicale), MS Q 15.

84 Dr. Harrison gives the passage in full (*op. cit.,* 250).

85 John Stevens, ed., *op. cit.,* nos. 10 and 42.

fectum. The burdens show the strong influence of Faburden. Burden I, a solo, is repeated at pitch as the mean of Burden II; there are two accented unisons between tenor and mean, but otherwise the outer voices are very close to Faburden. In the later version, though, Burden II has been transposed down a fourth in its entirety: the result is that Burden I now appears at pitch in the *top* voice, doubled fairly closely by the mean at the fourth below. In short, what was a stylised Faburden has now become a stylised Fauxbourdon-at-pitch. Was the scribe who edited this carol deliberately bringing it up to date? It is dangerous to proceed too much by inferences; but I hope to have shown that there is no reason why the English should not have developed Fauxbourdon themselves, and every reason why they should. Dunstable's music is full of Fauxbourdon-like passages in *chanson* style. The psalmodic *Magnificat* is a fine example of stylised Fauxbourdon, with the plainsong transposed to the upper octave [86]. The other plainsong arrangements with the chant in the treble are not psalmodic and are therefore far more elaborate, though passages like the following, from *Regina celi letare* [87], are common enough (the plainsong notes are asterisked):

Ex. 6

It seems reasonable enough to suppose that Fauxbourdon, like Faburden, grew from English stock on English soil. What support for this hypothesis do the early continental Fauxbourdons offer? Besseler insists that Dufay invented and named Fauxbourdon in the communion *Vos qui secuti estis,* part of his *Missa Sancti Jacobi;* the mass was supposedly written for Robert Auclou, Dufay's friend and patron, who was curate of St. Jacques de la Boucherie, Paris, during a hypothetical visit in 1427-28 when Dufay would have heard English music and met English composers in the retinue of John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France [88]. Alas, Mme. Clercx has shown that both Dufay and Auclou were almost certainly in Bologna throughout the period in question [89]. The fact remains that Dufay's communion is a very early Fauxbourdon, the first to be copied

86 Bukofzer, ed. *John Dunstable . . .*, no. 36.
87 Bologna MS (see n. 83), ff.276′-277.
88 "Das Ergebnis . . .", *op. cit.*
89 *Op. cit.,* 160ff.

into the Bologna manuscript, and the only one which has a Latin canon explaining how the missing contra is to be supplied. (Too much has been made of this canon, perhaps: if Fauxbourdon needed an explanatory note of this kind, it is only natural that it should be supplied for the first piece in the manuscript and not for the rest). Bukofzer was not prepared to accept outright that *Vos qui secuti estis* was the first Fauxbourdon [90]. He pointed out that Limburgia and Binchois had equal claims of seniority; and he showed that one piece by Binchois, *Ut queant laxis* [91], which appears in a source only slightly younger than the Bologna manuscript, is unique in its own way, just as Dufay's communion is, with its Latin tag. *Ut queant laxis,* 'an altogether unprecedented kind of fauxbourdon', consists of two voices with a third to be supplied, like any normal Fauxbourdon, but with this difference: the written voices are not tenor and discantus, but tenor and contra — the upper voice must be supplied at the fourth above the contra. The tenor moves in fifths and thirds beneath the given contra, which has the plainsong transposed to the upper fifth. The supplied discantus will come out at the octave above the original pitch of the plainsong, and the piece will *sound* just like any other Fauxbourdon in performance. Nevertheless, this unusual way of writing the music down clearly shows that Binchois' hymn-setting had its precedent after all: in the original form of English Faburden. Plainsong (admittedly transposed) in the mean, tenor in fifths and thirds beneath it, upper voice to be supplied at the fourth above the mean — this is far too close to the directions of John Wylde's manuscript for any coincidence. *Ut queant laxis* may even help to explain how change from Faburden to Fauxbourdon came about: many plainsongs lie rather low to be Faburdened as they stand. The fairly common transposition of the chant to the upper fifth in the mean would of course yield the chant at the upper octave in the treble, a fourth above the mean [92].

Judging from his recorded career, Binchois is a far stronger candidate than Dufay for the honour of having transmitted Faburden to the continent. In 1424 he was in the service of that sensitive and tragic figure, William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk; he may even have visited the Earl's country seat at Ampthill in Bedfordshire, not ten miles from the town of

90 "Fauxbourdon Revisited", 34.

91 Venice, S. Marco Lib. MS it. IX, 145, f.25; published in J. Marix, *Les musiciens de la cour de Bourgogne au XVe siècle,* Paris 1937, 226.

92 There are compositions by other continental masters which transpose the plainsong up a fifth when it forms the mean, including two of Dufay's hymn-settings — both show strong influence of Faburden (see *G. Dufay, Sämtliche Hymnen,* ed. R. Gerber, *Das Chorwerk,* 49, nos. 5 and 17, *Audi benigne conditor* and *Christe redemptor omnium.*

Dunstable [93]. Dufay, on the other hand, cannot be shown to have had any personal contact with the English at all. Binchois' compositions, too, often have a decidedly English cast of countenance, so much so that even fifteenth-century scribes were hard put to it to distinguish between his works and those of English masters of the time [94]. Several of his plainsong-settings are also unique in that they are unornamented, 'purely mechanical' Fauxbourdons with all three parts written out in full [95]. They are far closer in style to realisations of the much later English Faburden-tenors, than to the Fauxbourdons of Dufay and his contemporaries. In short, they are probably an attempt to put on paper the simple, functional Faburdens or Fauxbourdons which the composer must have heard improvised by English choirmen. It may have been Dufay who invented the French name [96] and the characteristic short-hand of the written two-voiced Fauxbourdon, and who popularised the form in Italy; Binchois does not seem to have crossed the Alps himself. But all in all, Dufay can no longer be claimed as the sole inventor, let alone the transmitter, of Fauxbourdon. It is far safer to draw conclusions from fifteenth-century theorists and from the music that they discussed, than to build up hypotheses about an improbable meeting between Dufay, speaking French in Walloon dialect, and Dunstable, speaking Anglo-Norman French after the school of Stratford-atte-Bow with a Bedfordshire accent.

A final word: this sort of discovery, which upsets an apparent 'fact' of musical history [97], cannot be dealt with fully in the few pages which this article occupies. There are many more hares to be chased before this question is finally settled. A point which needs more investigation, for example, is the link between Faburden-Fauxbourdon and the rare conti-

93 Marix, *Histoire . . ., op. cit.,* 177ff.

94 See my paper, "Some English Contemporaries of Dunstable", in *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association,* 81, 1955, 82-3.

95 See Besseler, *Bourdon und Fauxbourdon,* 162.

96 Mr. Thurston Dart convincingly suggests that the 'Faux' of 'Fauxbourdon' may have referred to the use of *falsetto* for the octave transposition. Since, as we have shown, Fauxbourdon must have developed from true Faburden, the word may also refer to the 'feigning' of the English sights, which would probably have puzzled the continental masters. If however they understood the original form of Faburden, with *b*-flats in the lowest voice instead of the accustomed *b*-naturals, there is no reason why 'Fauxbourdon' should not be taken as a more or less literal translation of the English term: the *b*-flats involve 'falsa musica' in the Burden. There are no known examples of true Faburden in continental sources, on the other hand.

97 It is only fair to point out that Otto Ursprung correctly described Faburden as long ago as 1931! See his *Katholische Kirchenmusik,* in *Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft,* ed. Bücken, Potsdam 1931, 142. He does not seem to have realised the implications of what he was saying, nor did he have the reprints of Bukofzer, Georgiades and Meech to help him. But inspired guess or no, he was quite right.

nental plainsong-settings which place the chant in the middle voice [98]. But when all is said and done, Faburden and Fauxbourdon were modest, unspectacular music, carefully restricted to a few humble occasions in the framework of the liturgy. Because composers used these forms for such simple and unpretentious functions, — office hymns, *Te Deum, Magnificat,* psalmody and so forth — the music itself was likewise reduced to its barest essentials. As a result, Faburden and Fauxbourdon present in a particularly clear form one of the great changes underlying Renaissance music: the urge towards controlled dissonance, towards the rhythmically disciplined harmony of the sixteenth century. Their real importance has been too much exaggerated by recent controversies, and it is time that we saw them in their own humble setting once more. They are a symptom, not a cause [99].

Birmingham, England

[98] See n. 92. Also Dufay's Whitsuntide sequence *Veni sancte spiritus,* Trent Cod. 92, ff.100′-101, no. 1453, pub. in *D.T.Ö.* XXVII, Teil 1, Band 53, 29-30; the anonymous hymn *Pange lingua gloriosi, Ib.* f.78, no. 1431 pub. *Ib.,* 88; Dufay's *Benedicamus Domino,* Mod. B, f.29; there are further examples in the Bologna MS, and among the works of Binchois.

[99] Since the completion of this article, Dr Ernst Apfel of Heidelberg has very kindly sent me, in exchange for a copy, the typescript of his chapter "Der Faburdon", from his forthcoming book on the technique of composition in English medieval music. It is gratifying to find that we agree on the interpretation of the paragraph in John Wylde's MS, and on its application to the surviving Faburden-tenors of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries — though we were working quite independently, and unknown to each other. Dr Apfels's study is necessarily briefer than mine. He re-interprets Pseudo-Tunstede's chapter on discant [Coussemaker, *Scriptores* IV, 294a] in a most convincing way, showing that this writer too was describing an early form of Faburden; but he leaves the problem of Guilielmus Monachus well alone.

THE CODEX FAENZA, BIBLIOTECA COMUNALE, 117 [*Fa*]

A Facsimile Edition Presented by

ARMEN CARAPETYAN

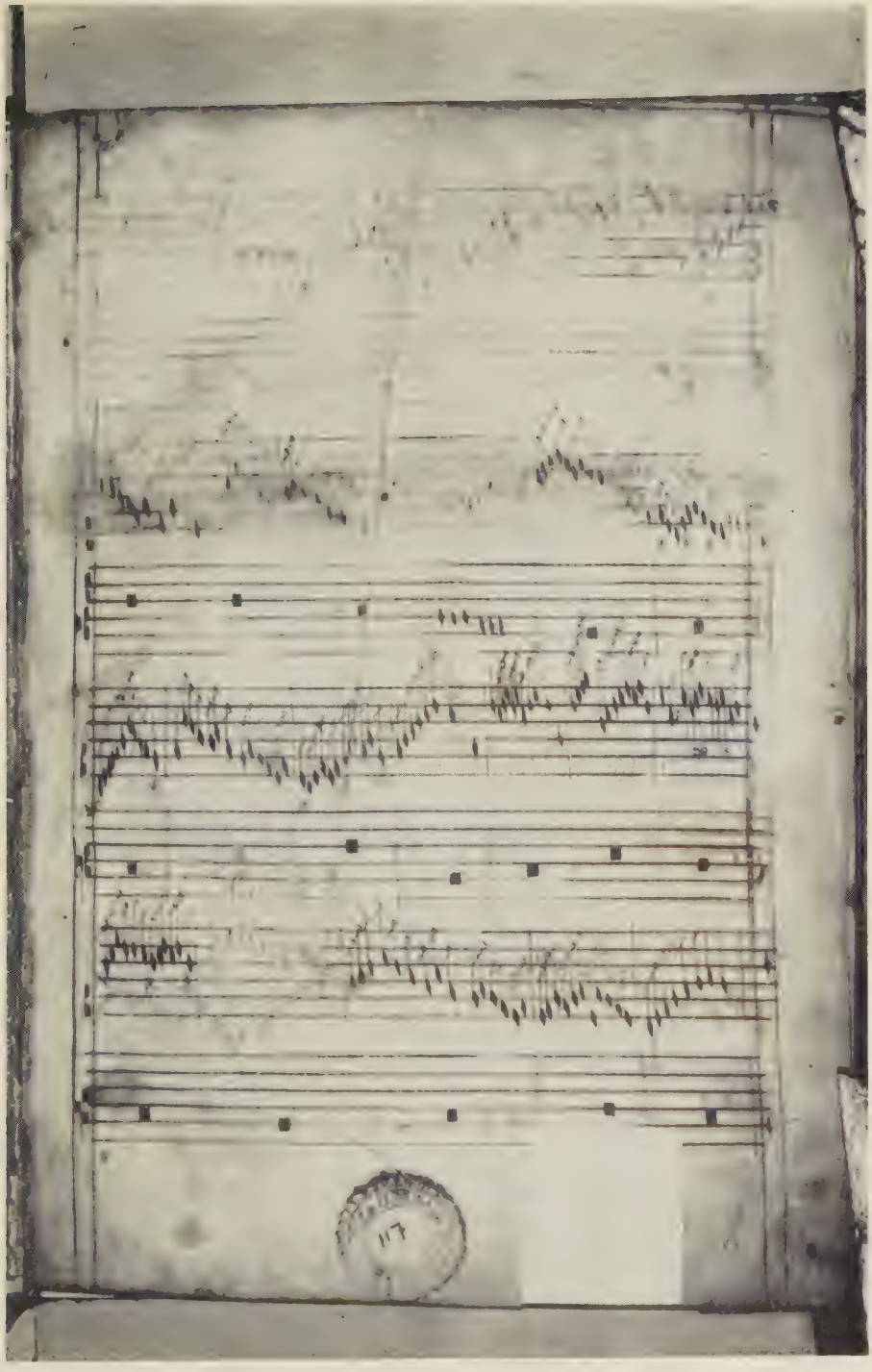
The Faenza codex is of singular interest primarily for its great repertory of keyboard music written about 1420. Considering that these pieces are instrumental elaborations of French and Italian songs of the 14th century, the collection becomes of great interest indeed, and, as a source, very important.

The codex has also later 15th-century compositions added by Johannes Bonadies. The 43 pages on which these compositions are written down — incidentally, in contrasting white notation — form a part of the codex that is certainly of secondary, perhaps even less than secondary, importance. The codex contains, moreover, copies of some treatises. Here we are only concerned with the section containing keyboard music.

The manuscript has been known after the name of Bonadies. For many years it was believed to be lost. G. Roncaglia drew attention to it by his article, "Intorno ad un codice di Johannes Bonadies" in *Atti e memorie della R. Accademia di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti di Modena,* Serie V, t. IV (1939), 31. A few years ago Dragan Plamenac rediscovered it for musicologists. He fully described the codex in his article, "Keyboard Music of the 14th Century in Codex Faenza 117" in *Journal of the American Musicological Society,* IV (1951), and discussed further discoveries in his "New Light on Codex Faenza 117" at Utrecht (*Congresbericht Utrecht 1952* (1953)). Plamenac wrote also the article "Faenza", Codex 117" in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart.*

There are no less than 104 pages of these keyboard compositions, written in black notation and in score on a system of two six-line red staves. This part of the codex will be reproduced in *Musica Disciplina* in three or four parts. We thank the Mayor of Faenza for kind permission to reproduce the main part of the codex, and Prof. G. Vecchi of Bologna for good offices in the matter, as also for obtaining fresh photographs and being kind and helpful in various details.

It is hoped that this new feature in *Musica Disciplina* — the publication of authoratative sources in facsimile — will prove of good service to scholars and will further enhance what is a primary aim in *Musica Disciplina:* usefulness as aid and as a tool and stimulus towards further research.



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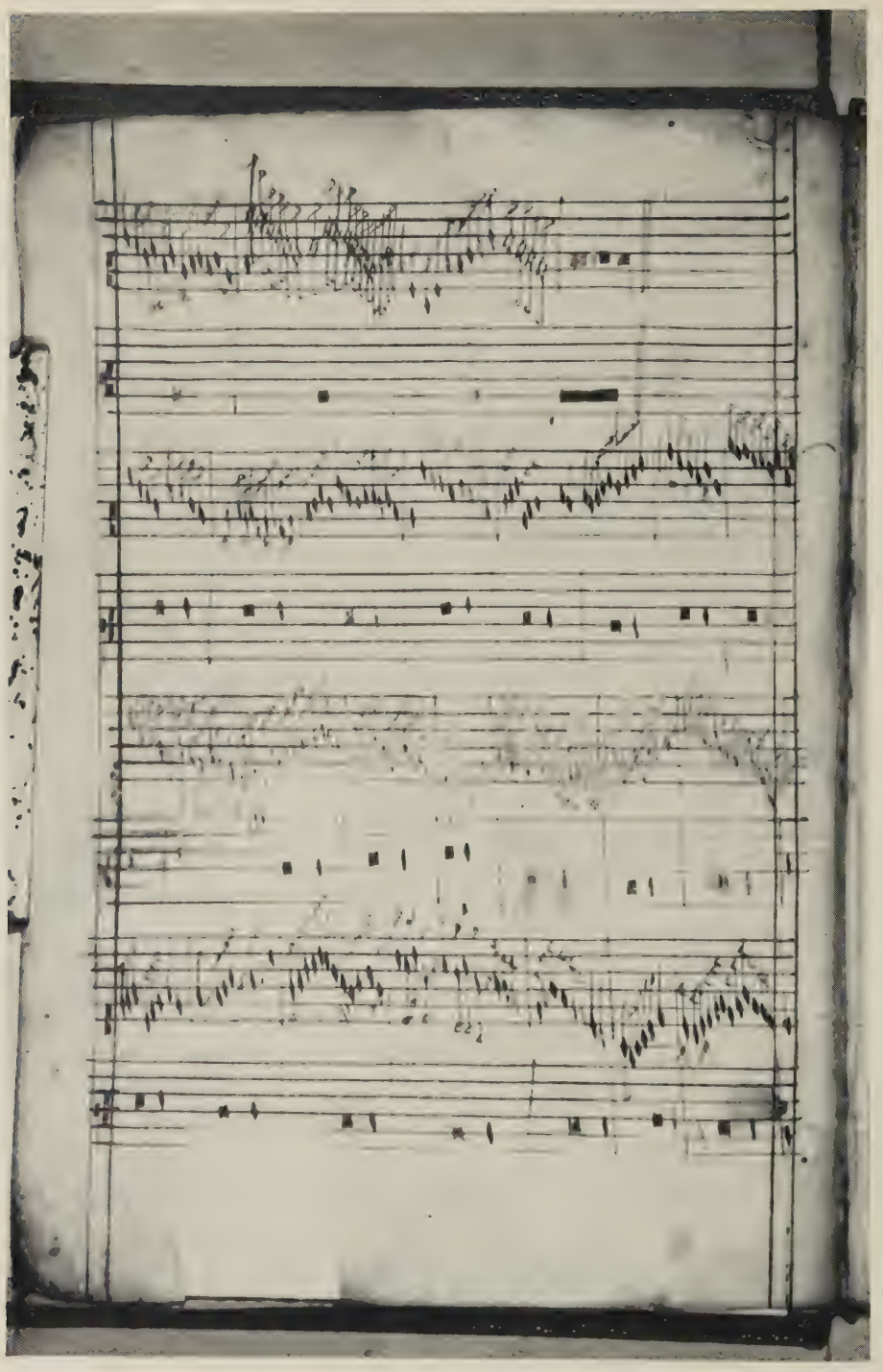

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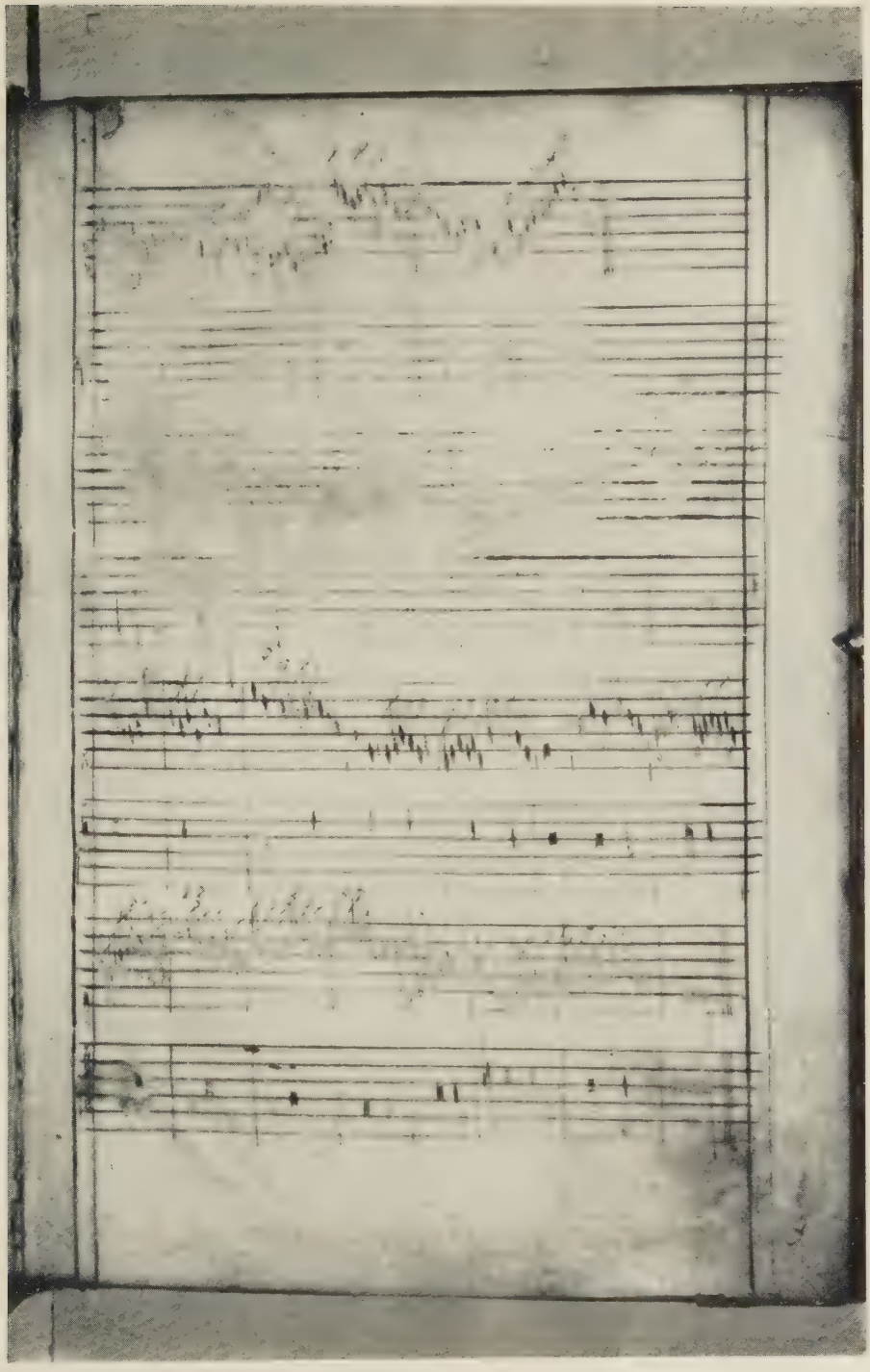

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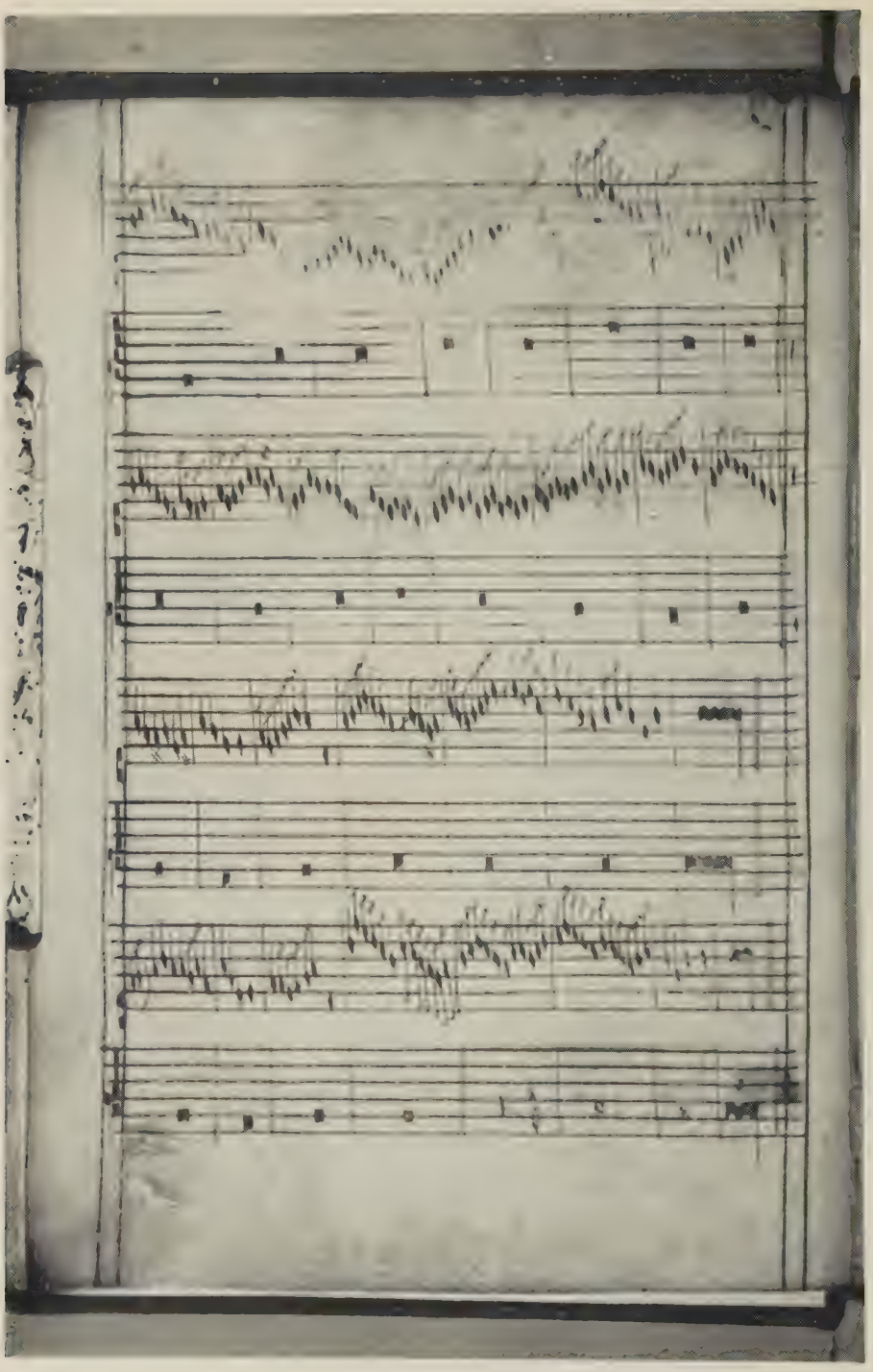

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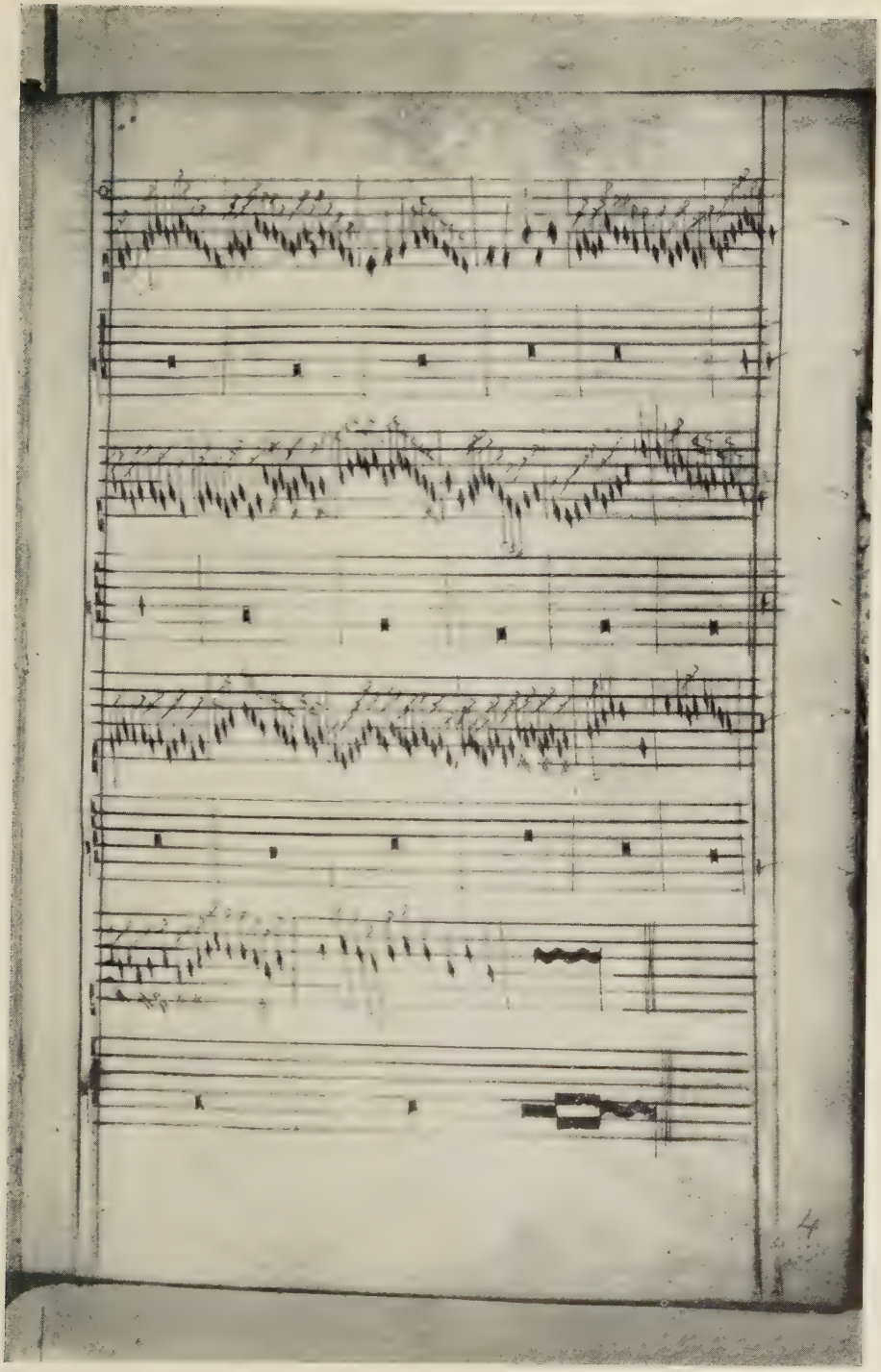

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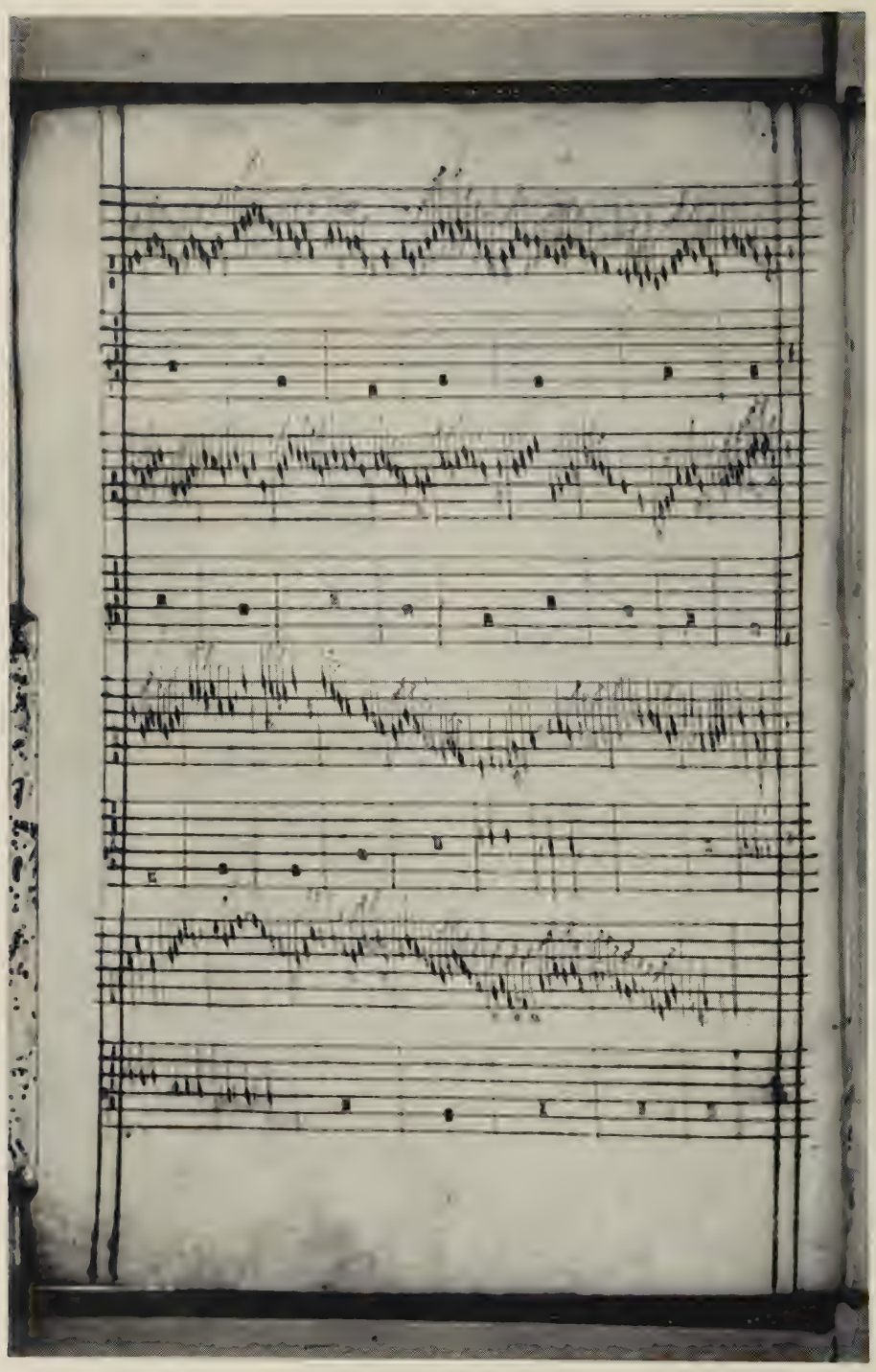

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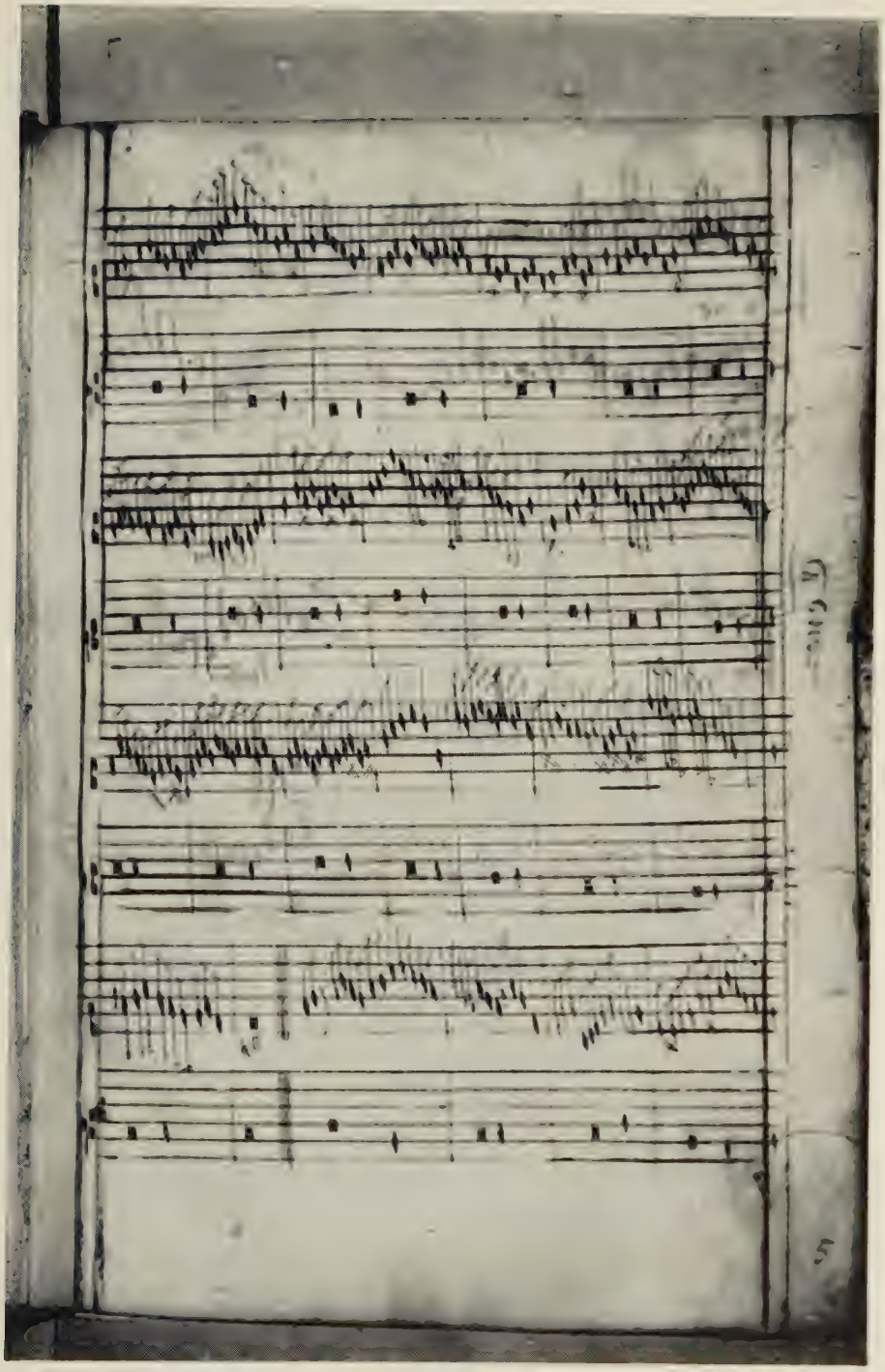

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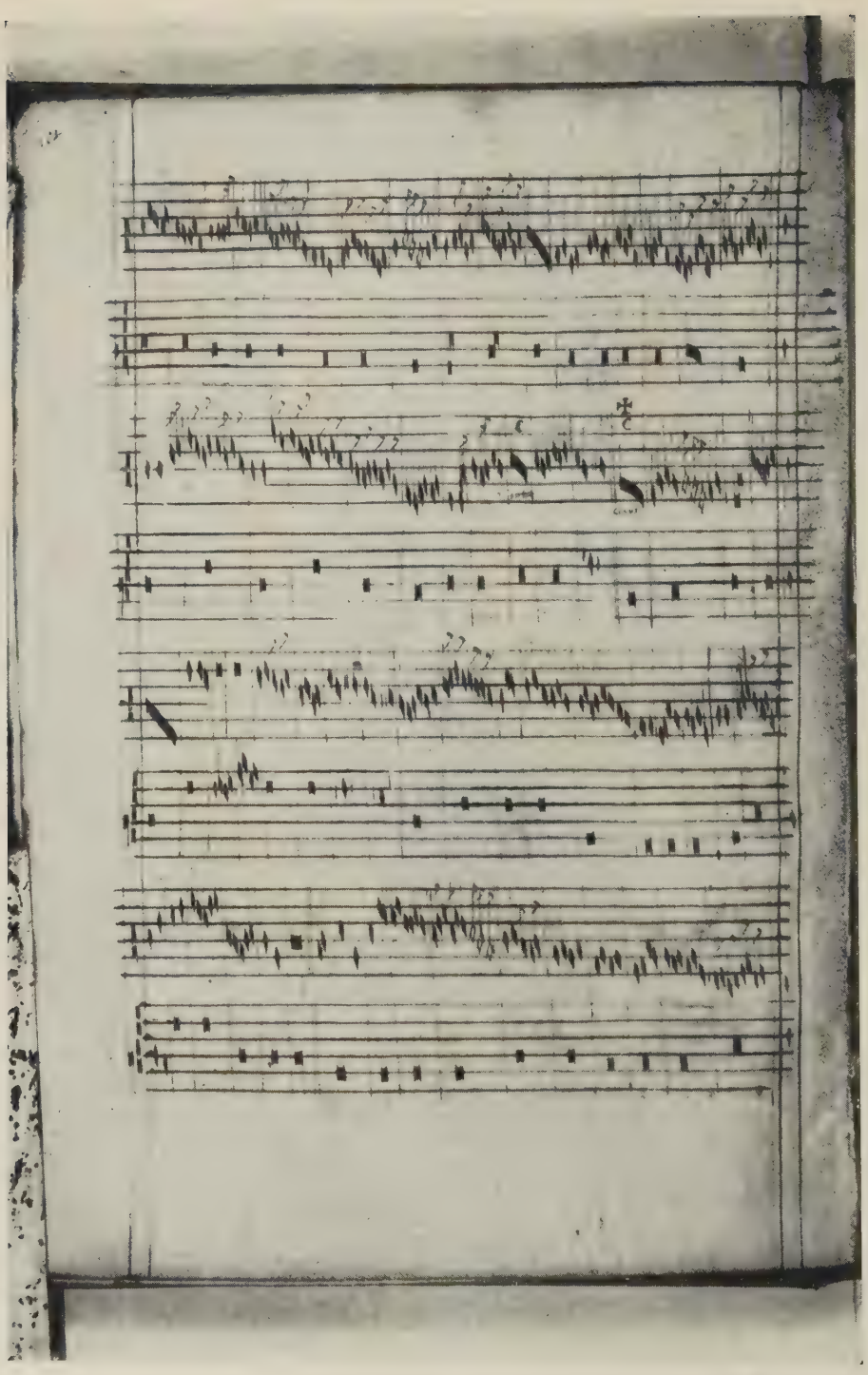

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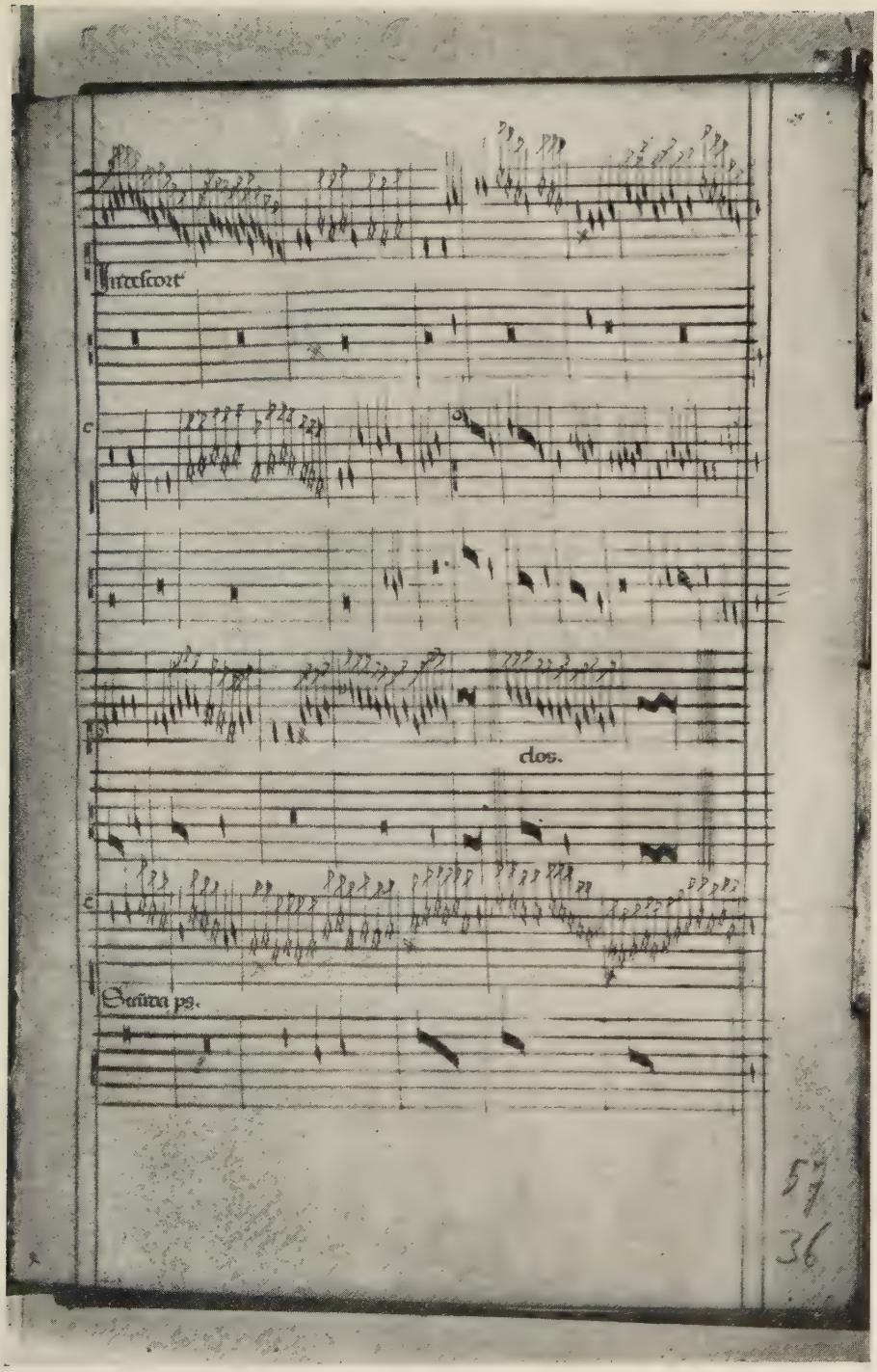
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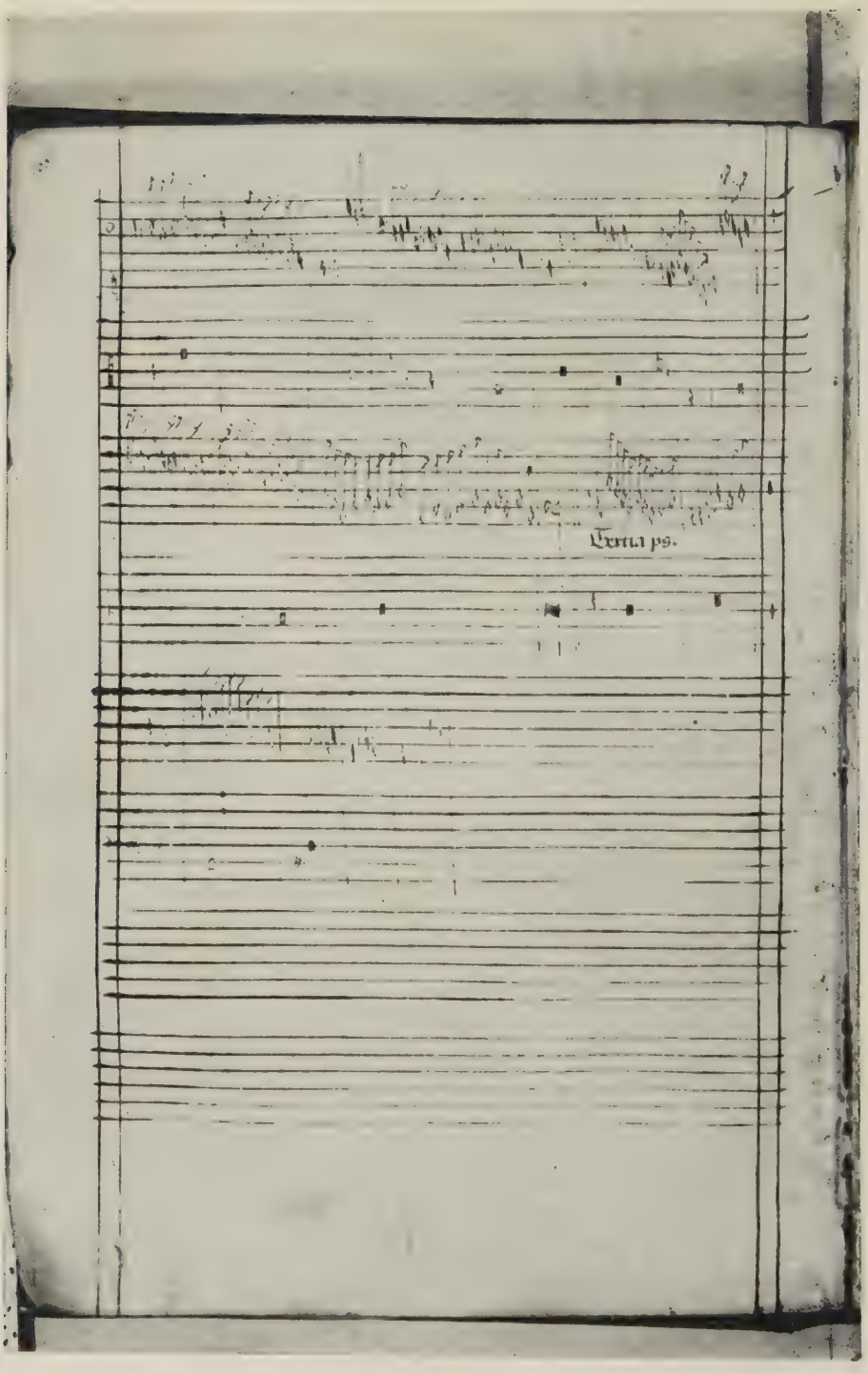

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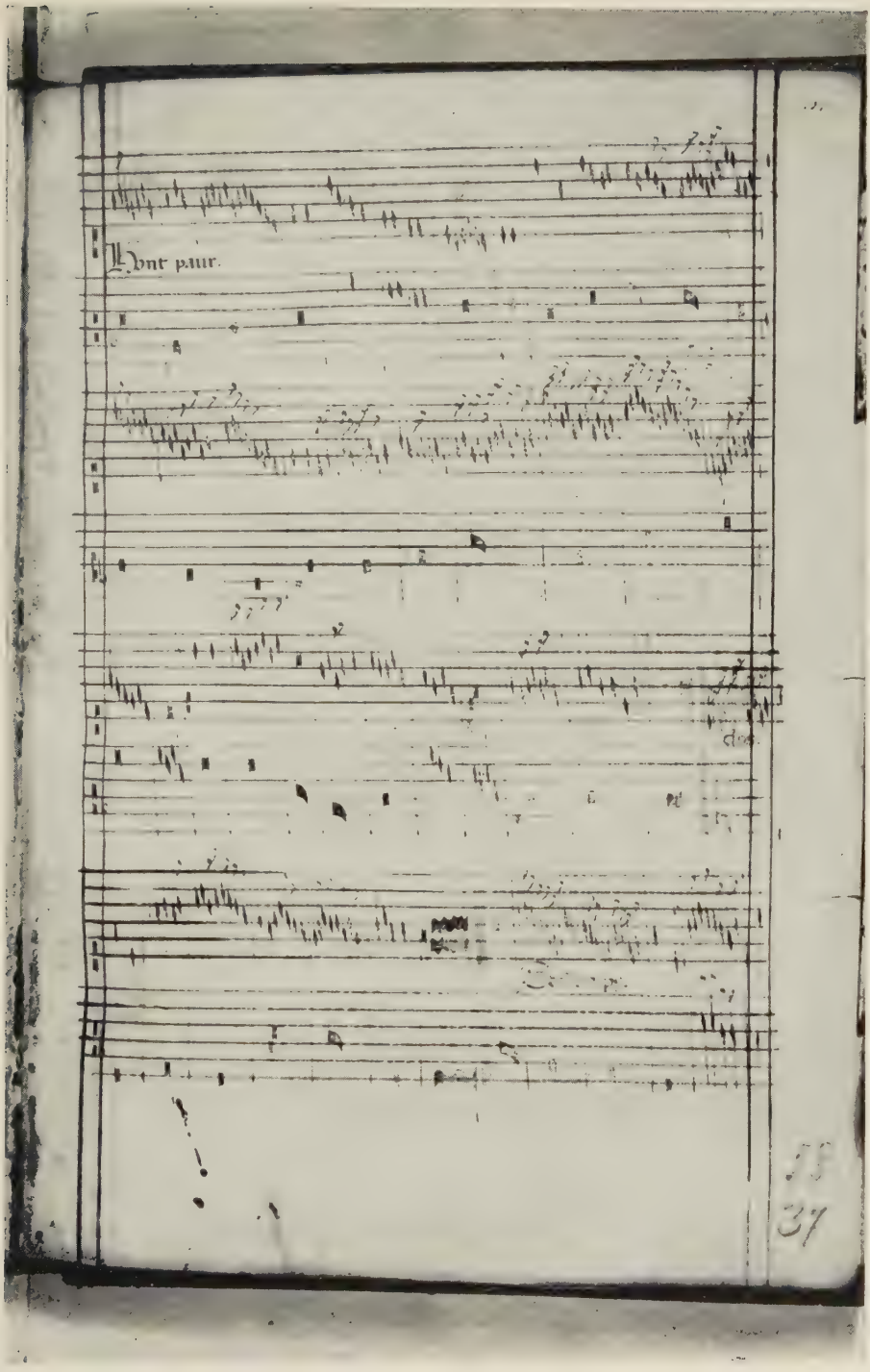

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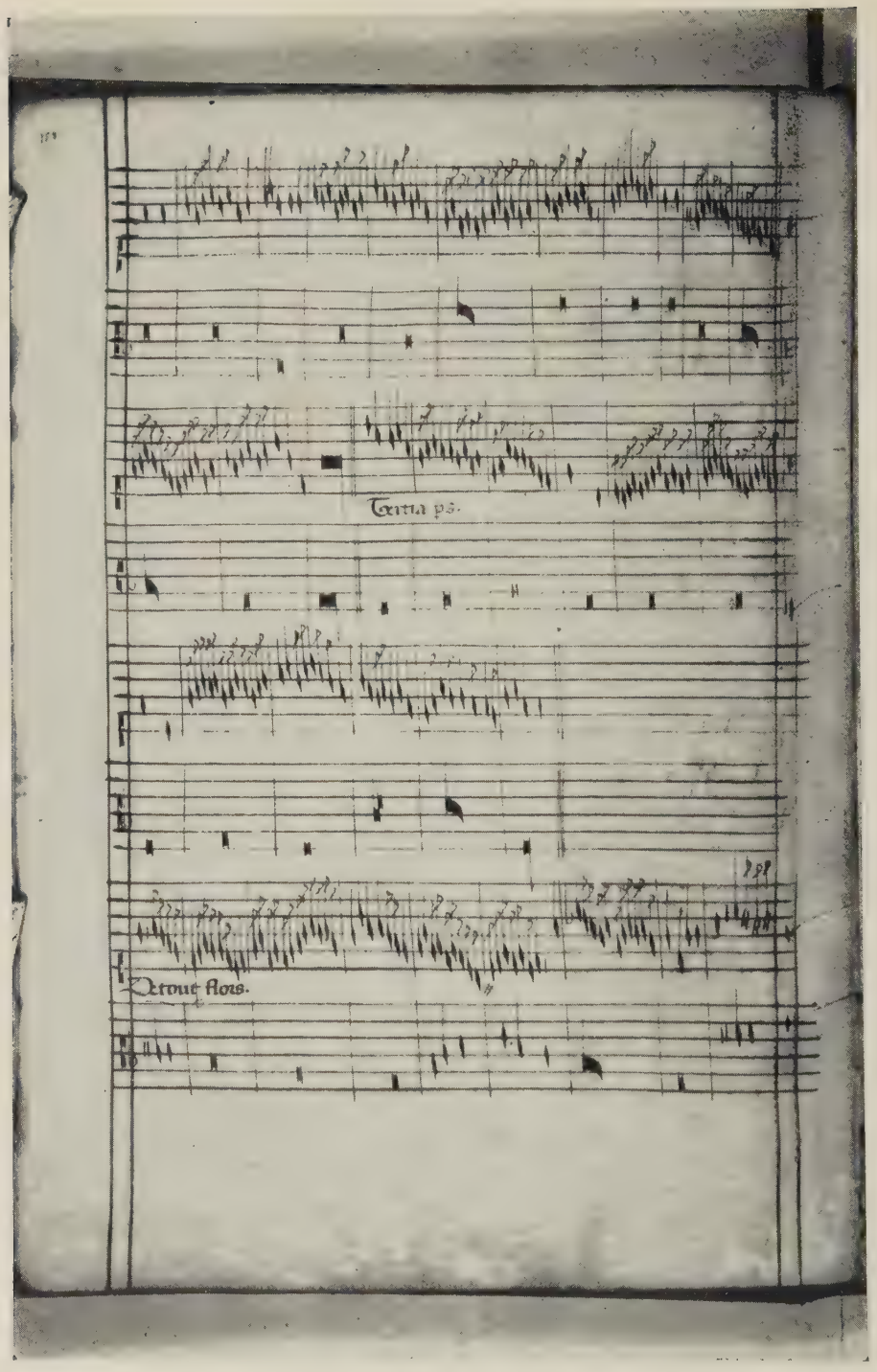

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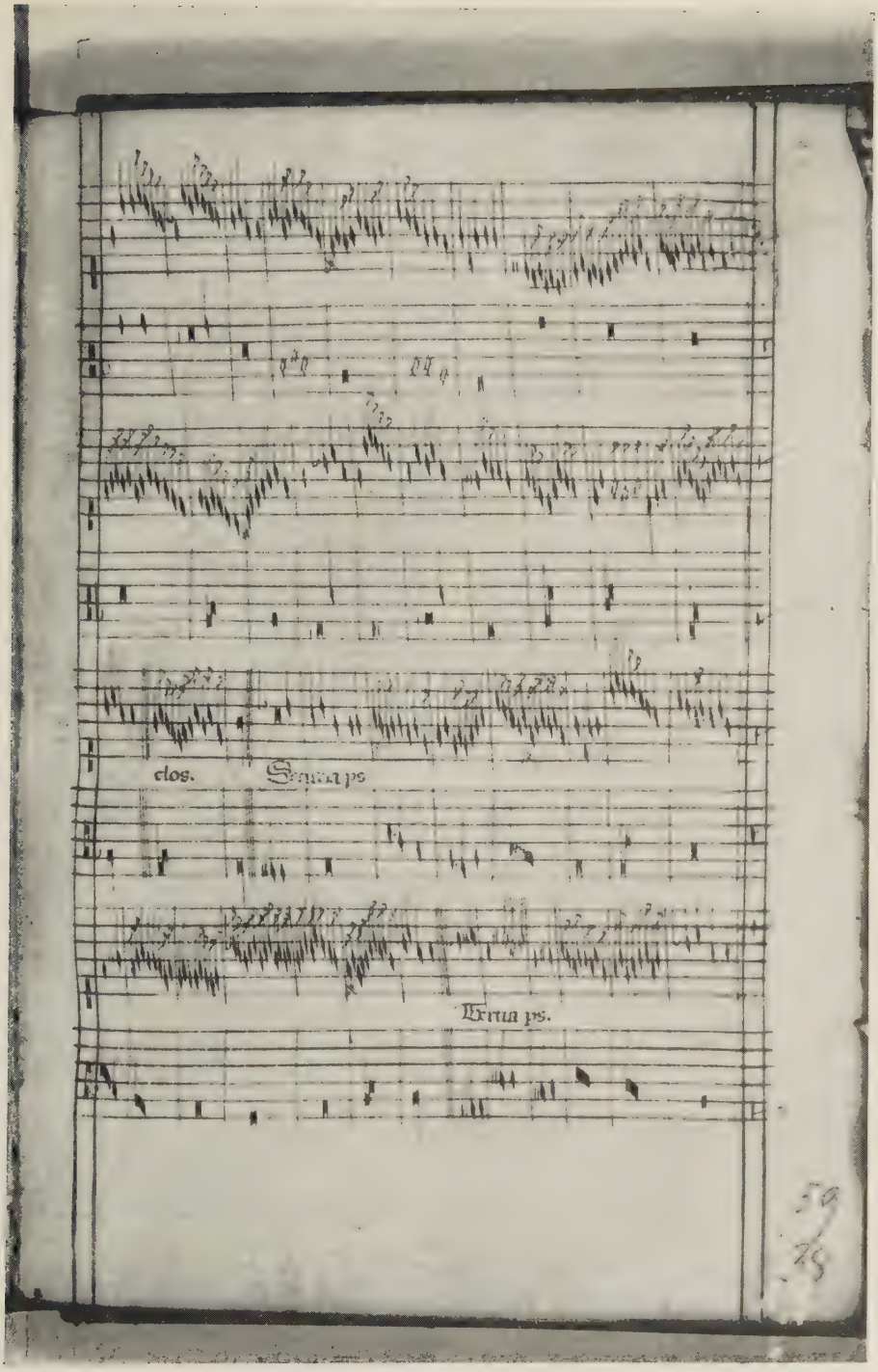

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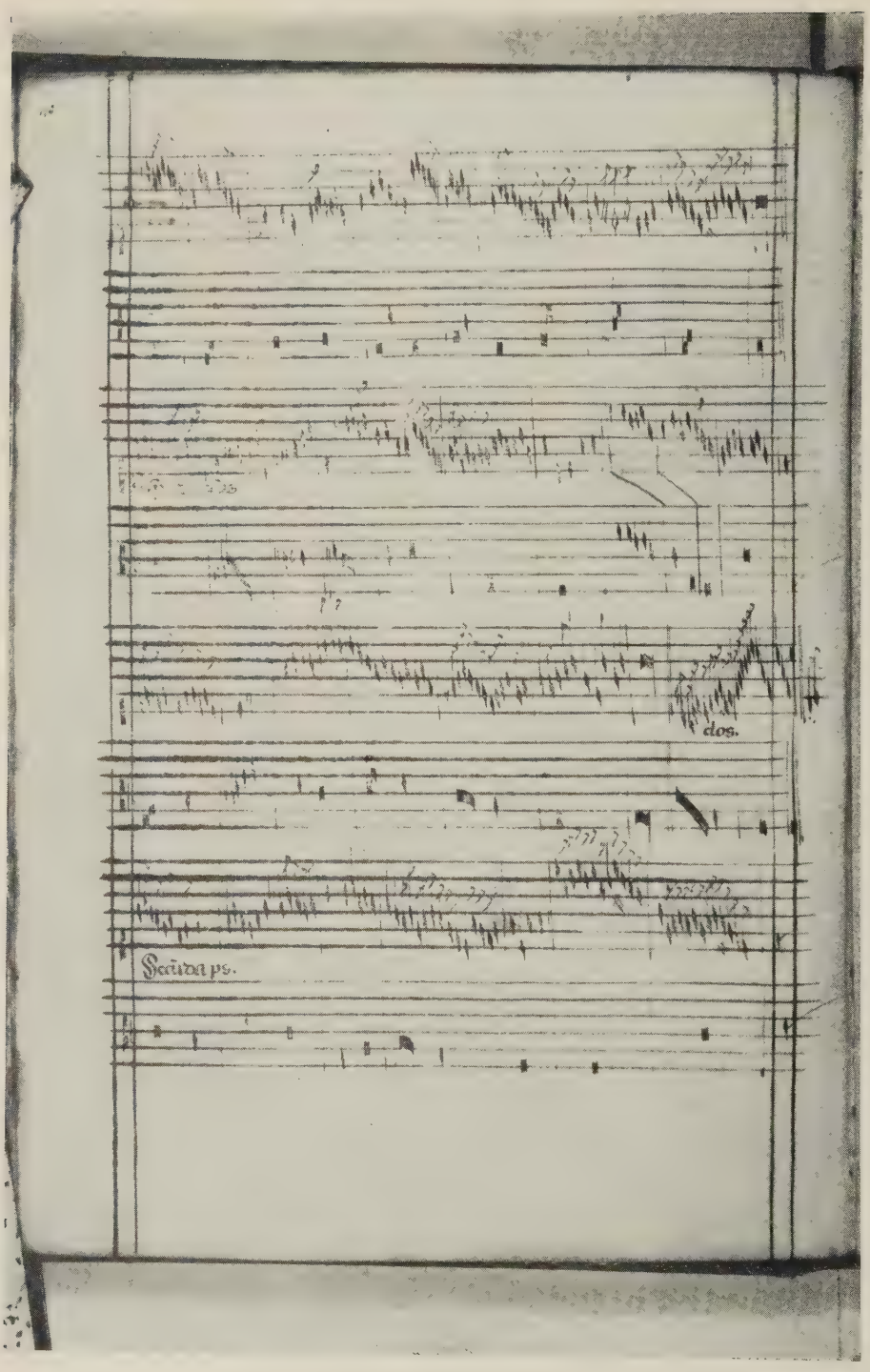

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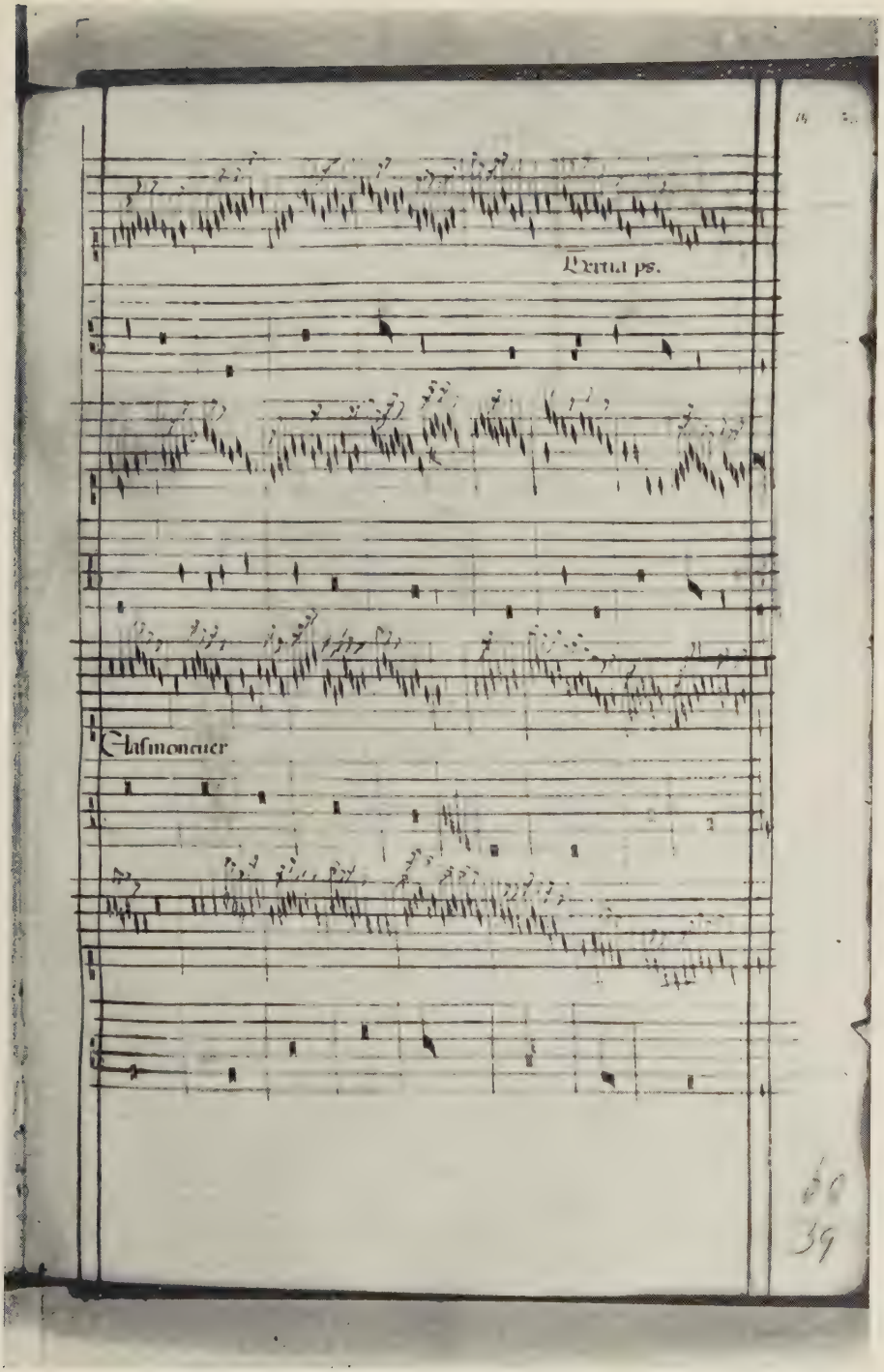

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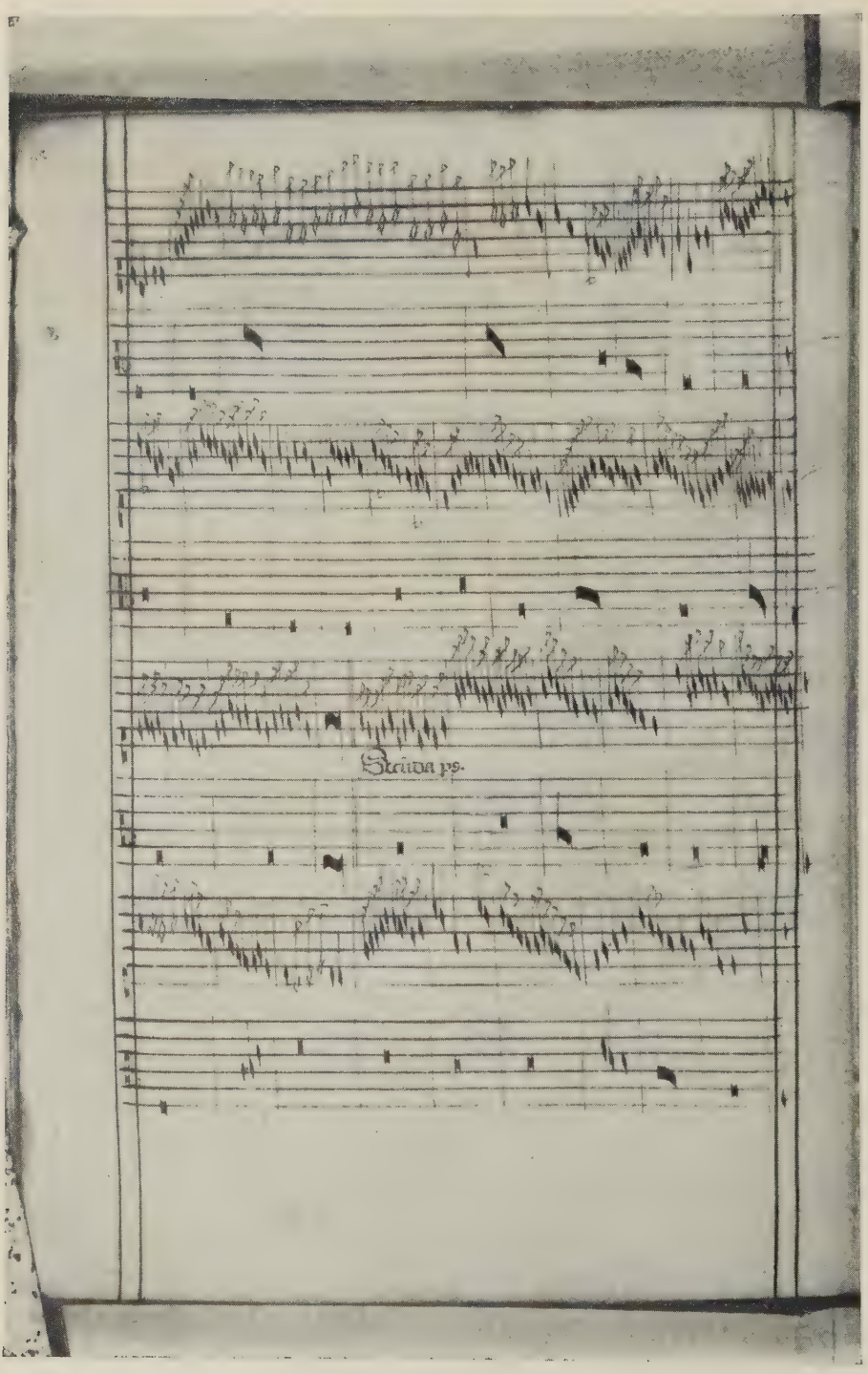

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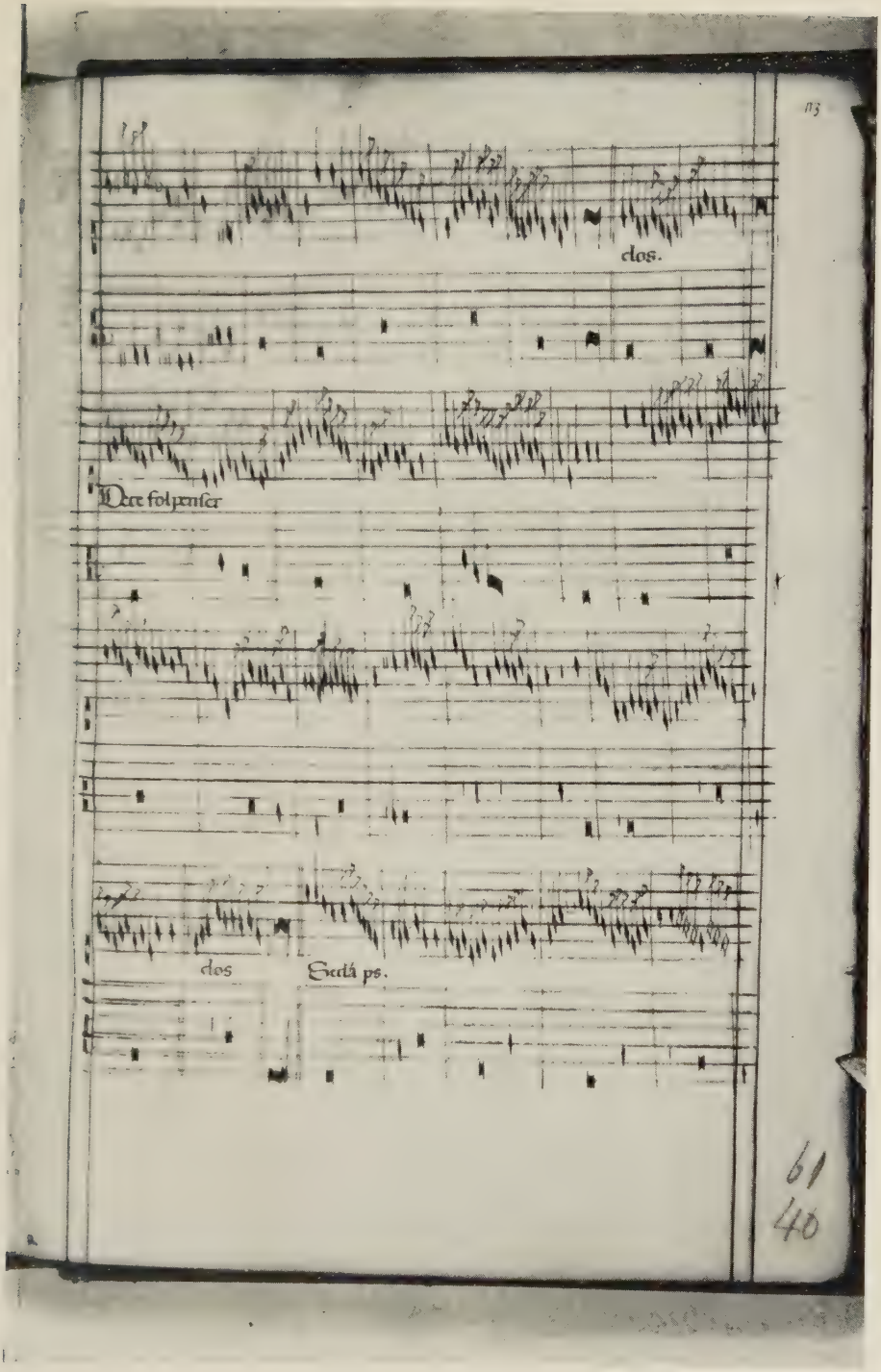

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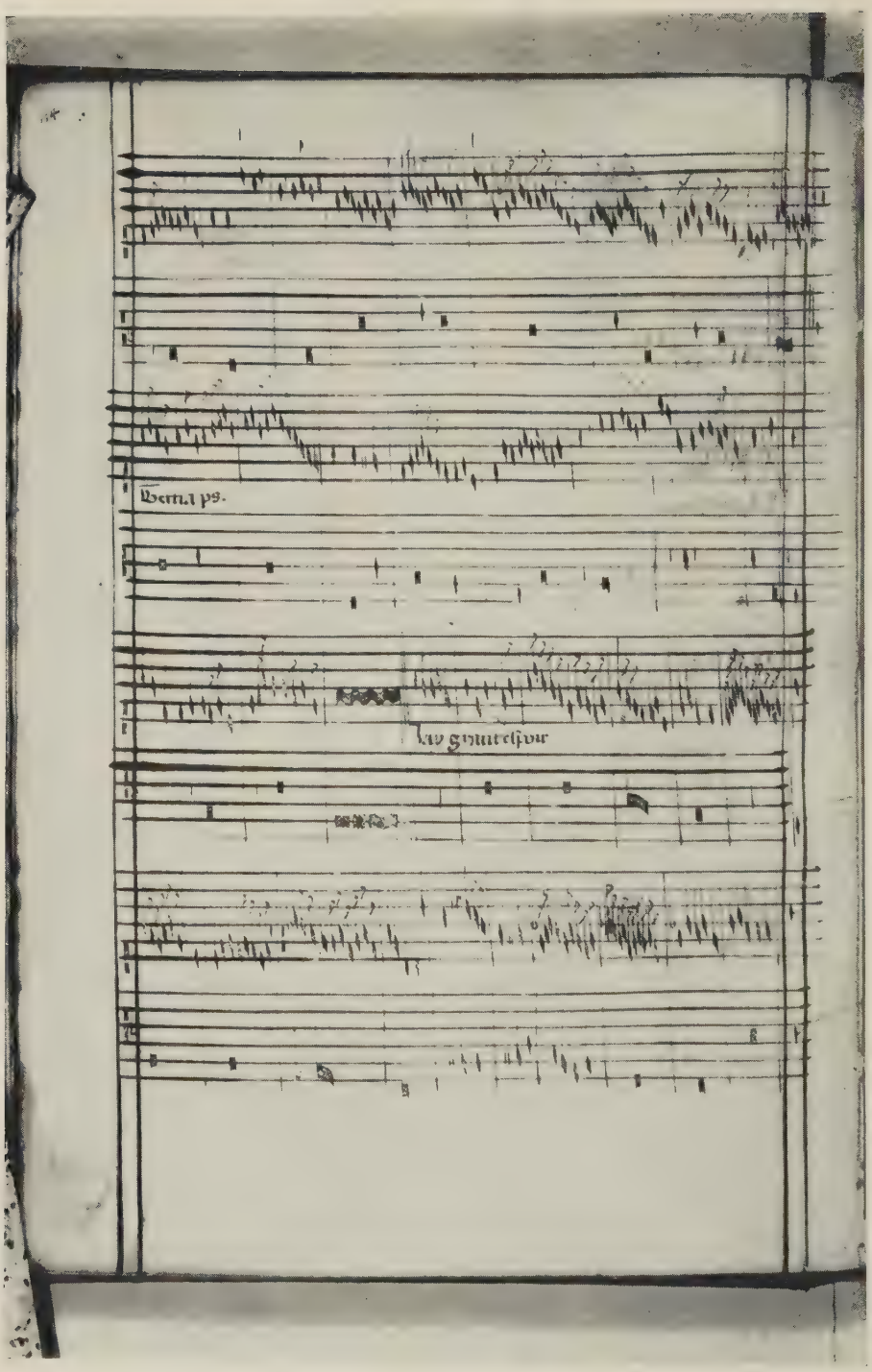

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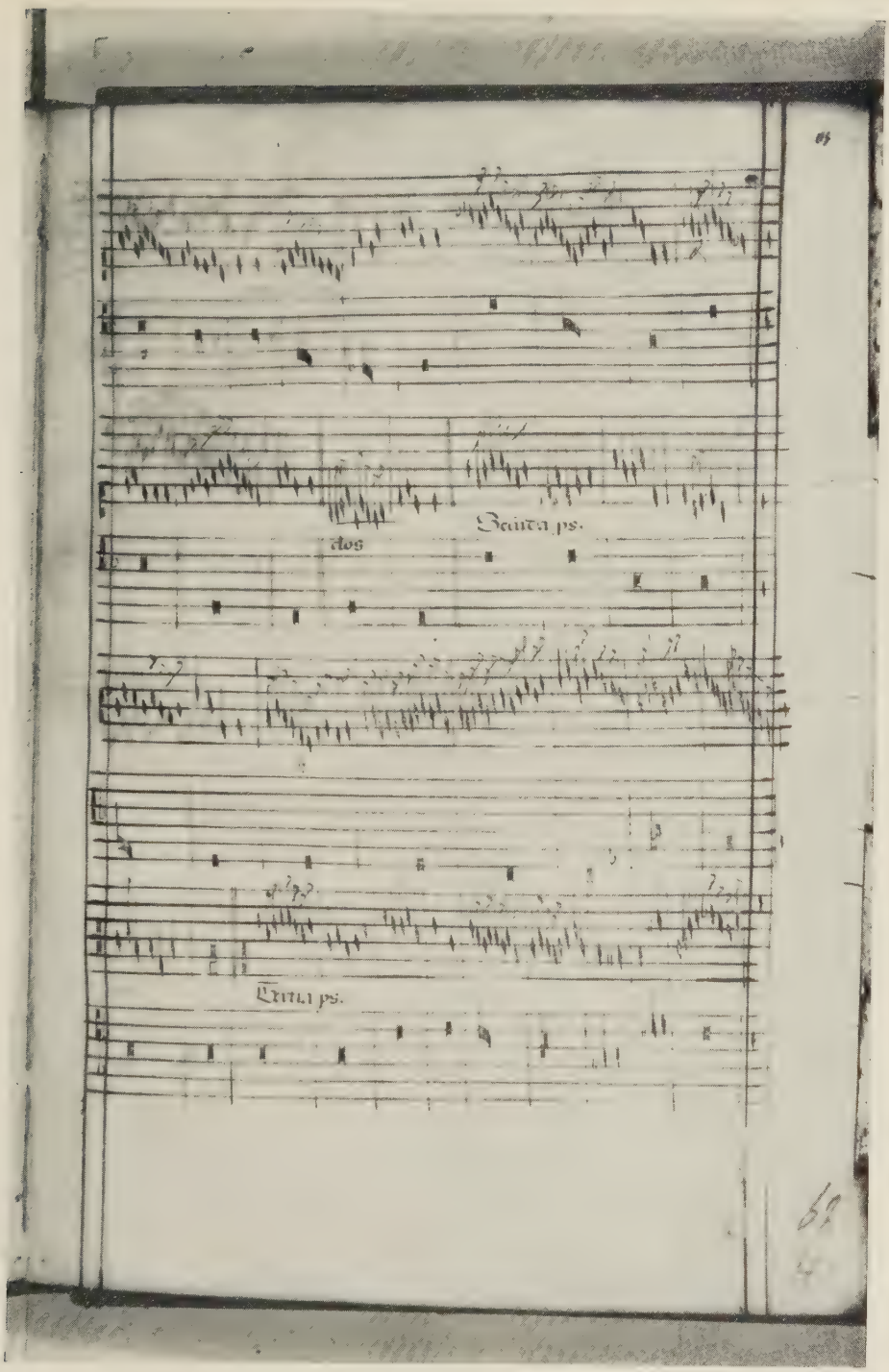

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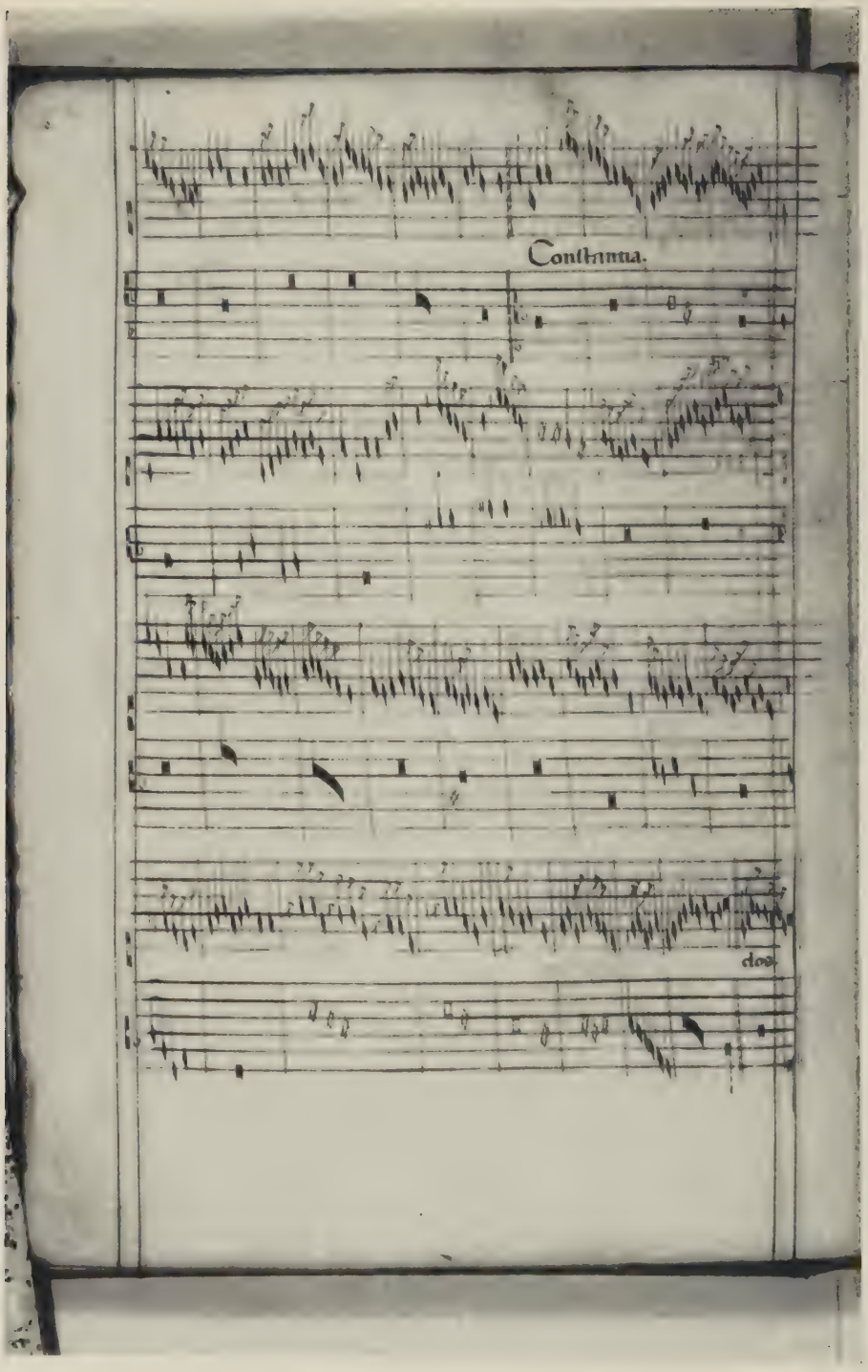

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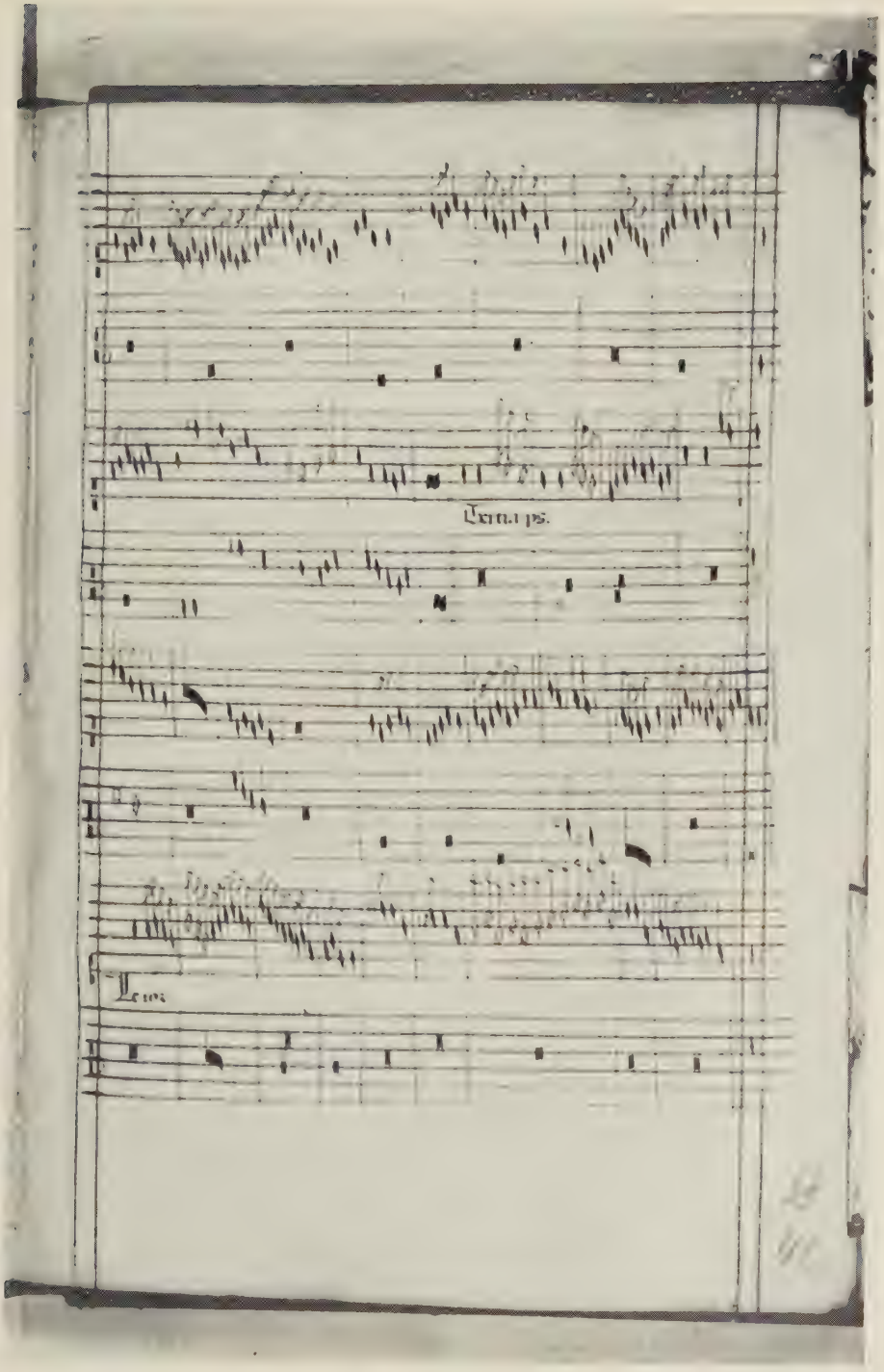

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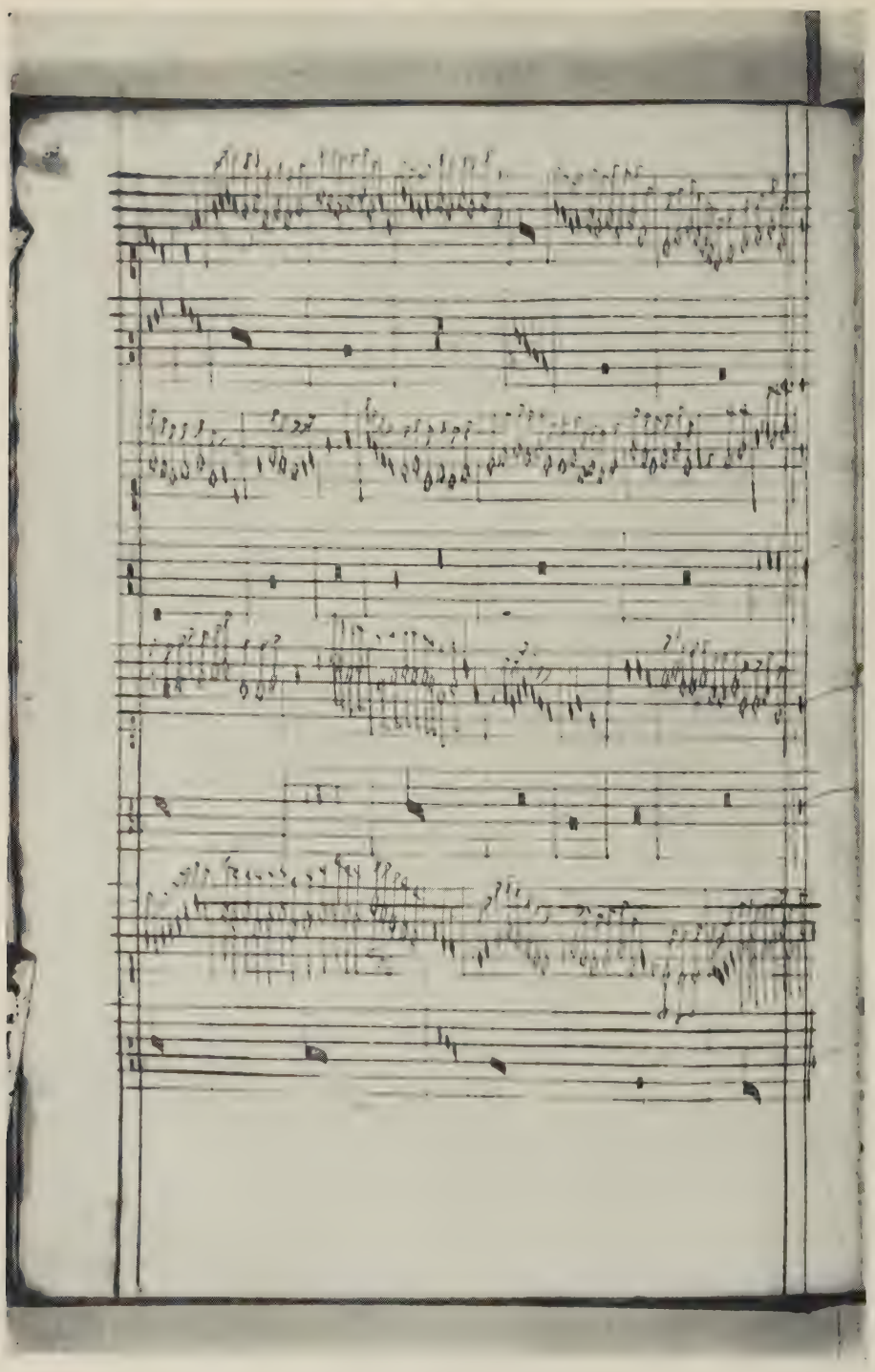

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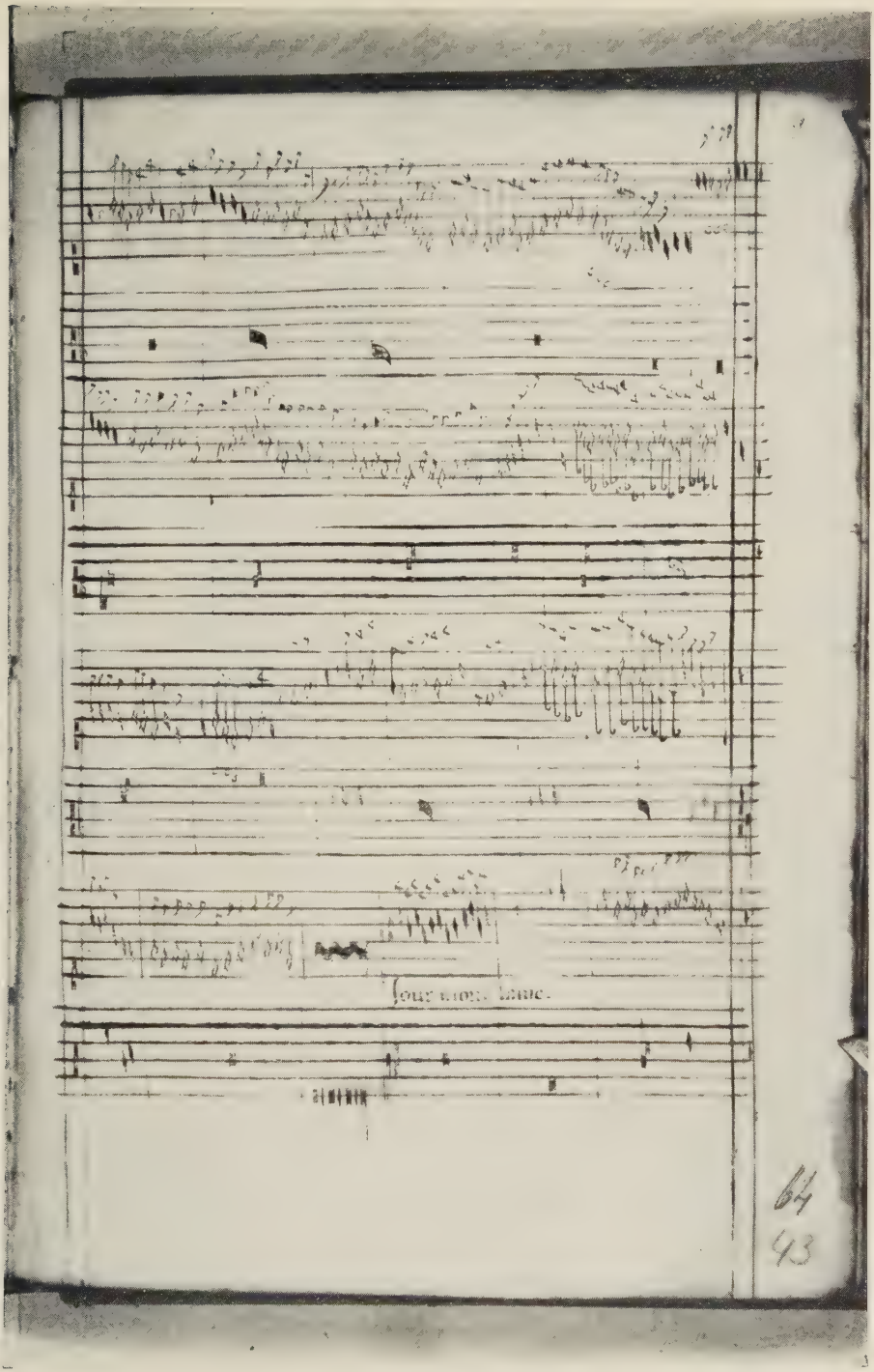
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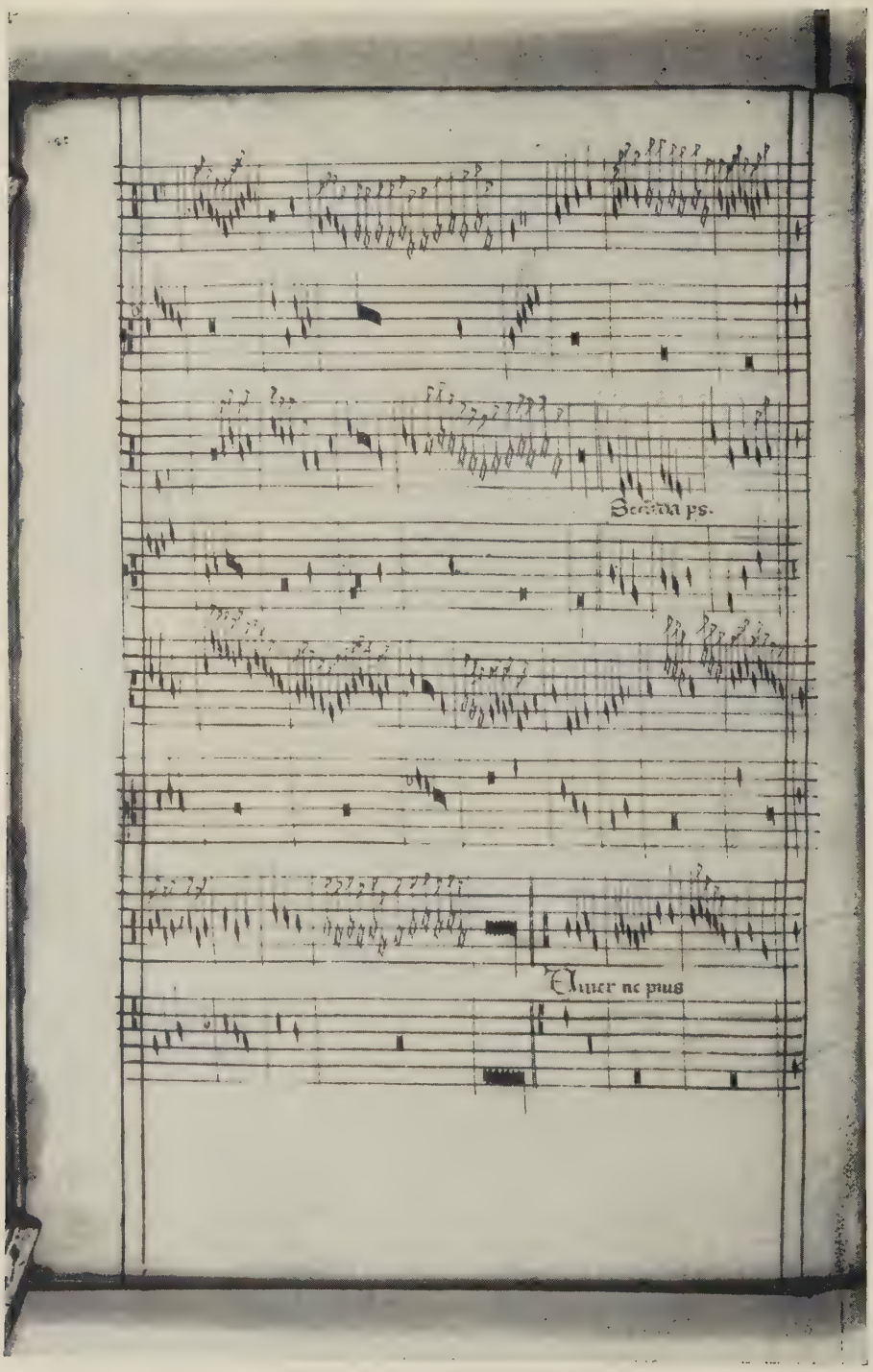
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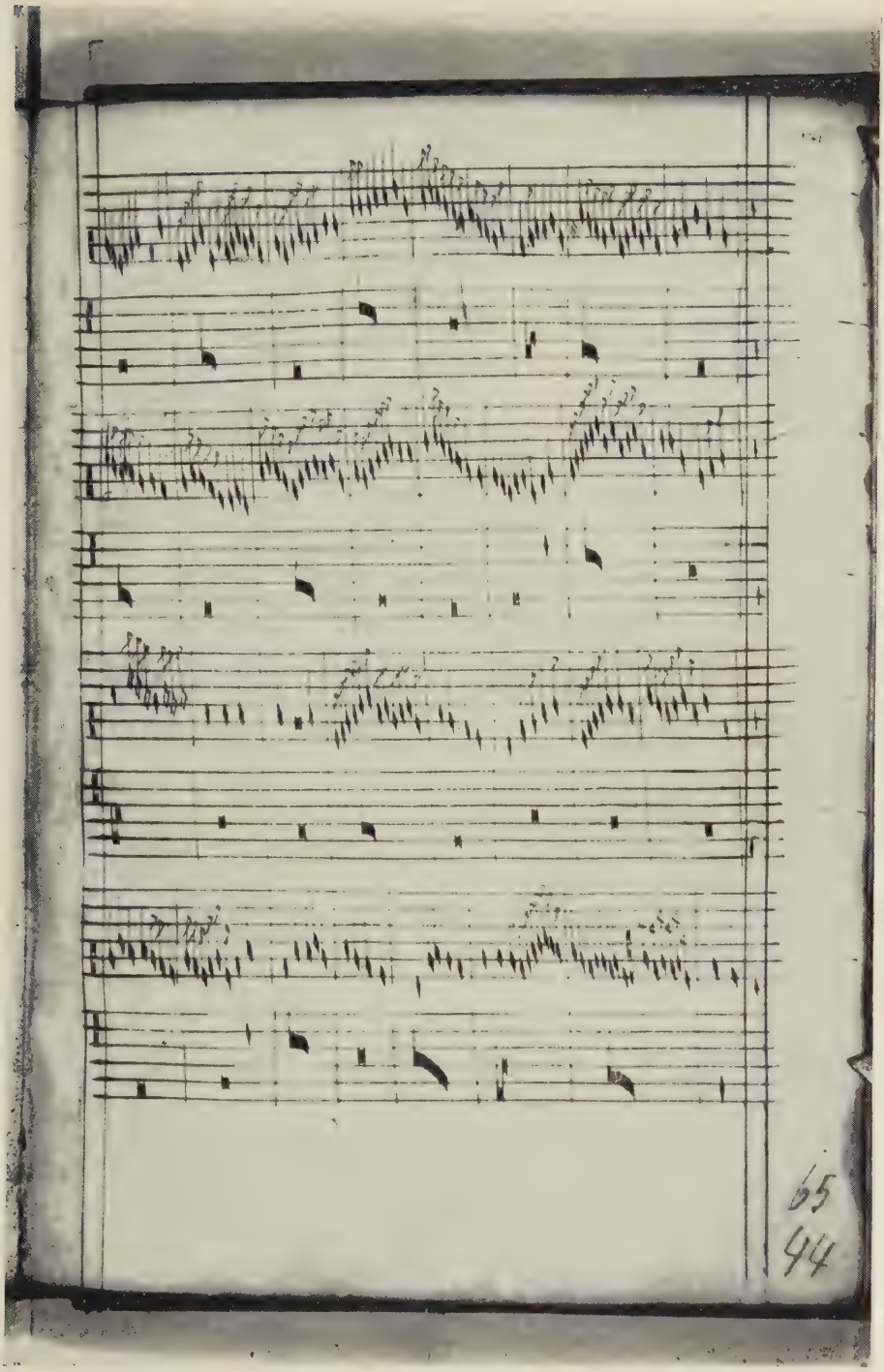

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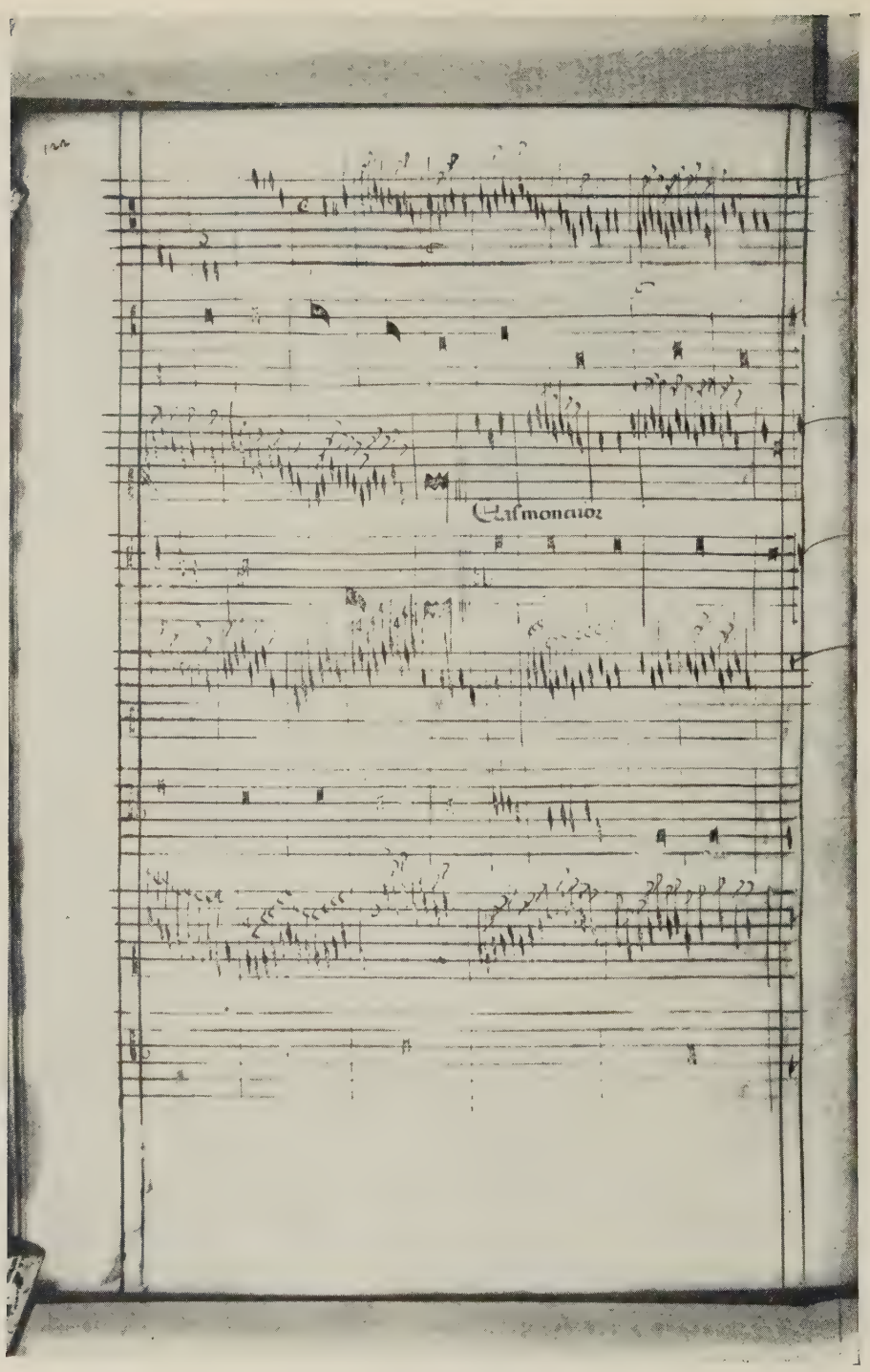

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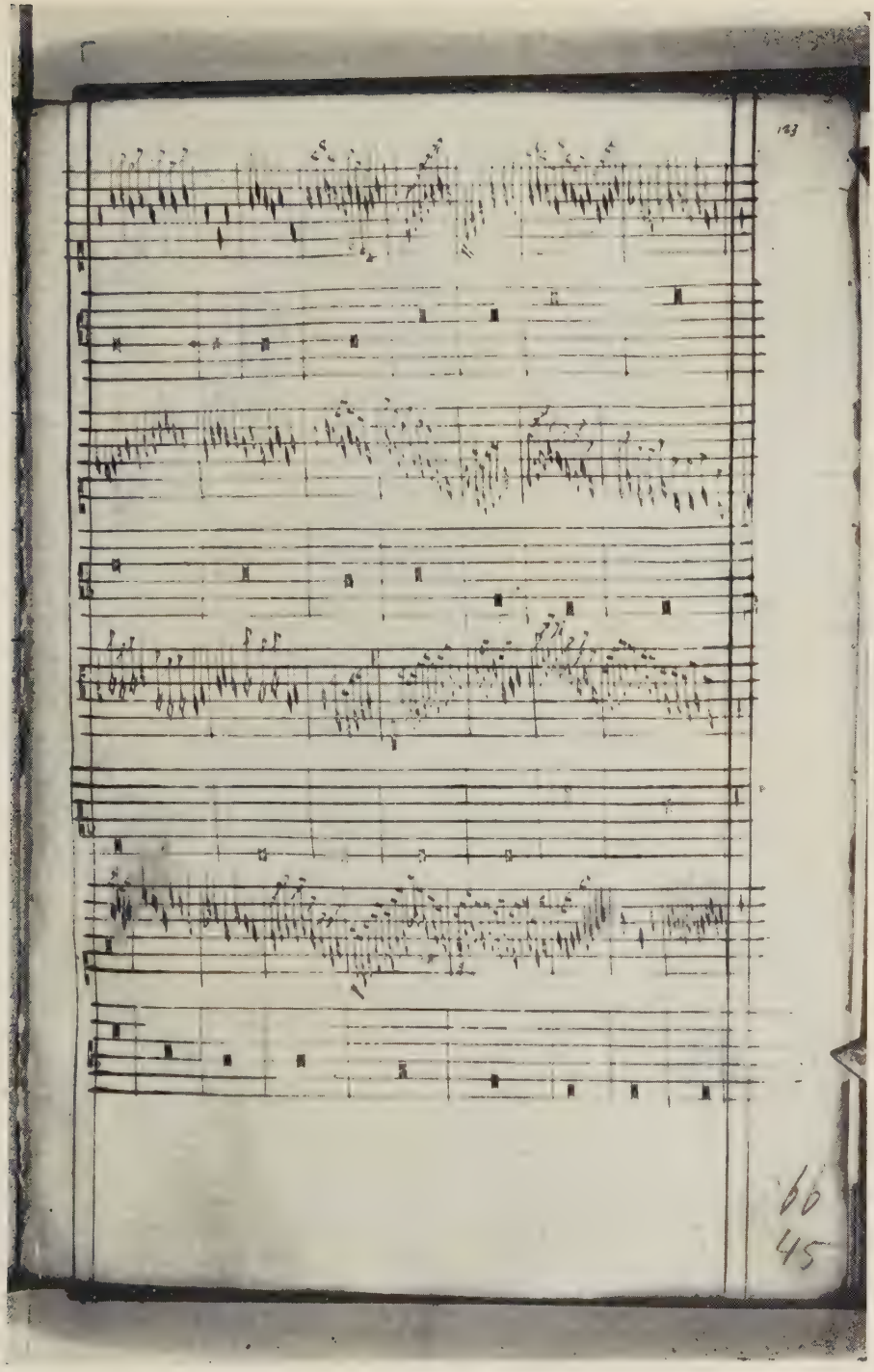
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MOLINET, MUSIC, AND MEDIEVAL RHETORIC

CAROL MacCLINTOCK

Jean Molinet, *historiographe et chroniqueur* to Charles le Téméraire, Maximilian of Austria, and Philippe Le Beau, has in modern times overshadowed in esteem Jean Molinet, poet and musician, who has seemed to cut a rather poor figure. The former, in his accounts of the life, works and glories of his masters, is in a class with the great chroniclers of French history, with Joinville and Froissart, because of the liveliness and intensity with which he is able to recreate events and make his reader feel almost as if he had been present in his own person. Jean Molinet the poet-musician, the Grand Rhétoriqueur, as early as the Sixteenth century fell into disrepute, partly deserved, as did the other members of this school [1]. I say "partly deserved" because while his verse, considered as poetry from our modern point of view, is execrable, it is nevertheless characterized by considerable learning, an almost diabolic cleverness and ingenuity, and a superlative technique, which delighted and entertained his contemporaries. He was a thoroughly competent literary artist, and in addition a musician with a profound knowledge of the vocabulary and principles of his trade. This fact will presently be amply demonstrated.

About Molinet the composer there is very little information available since only one or possibly two compositions are at present known to scholars [2]. Nor do we have information as to the exact details of his musical education [3]. However and wherever he obtained it, he had an excellent musical training in the conventional discipline of the Fifteenth century. Scholars who have hitherto dealt with the numerous musical references in Molinet's work, both in prose and in verse, have given the

1 "L'école des Rhétoriqueurs a été sévèrement jugée et Jean Molinet, l'un des plus fameux, n'a pas été épargné... Molinet avait, de son temps, meilleure réputation. Ses contemporains le tenaient en singulière estime: sans être dupe des éloges outrés qu'ils lui adressaient, on doit reconnaître que ces louanges attestent une renommée bien établie." N. Dupire, *Jean Molinet,* Paris, 1932, 1.

2 The chanson *Tart ara mon cuer* in Dijon 517, Laborde, and Thott 2918 is usually attributed to Molinet. (Cf. K. Jeppesen, *Der Kopenhagener Chansonnier,* 1927, p.xxxivf.) Eitner gives Ms. 88.7 of the Munich Staatsbibliothek as containing a *Salve regina* by Molinet. *(Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker,* VII, 20)

3 Jean Lemaire de Belges said that Molinet "s'est adonné au service de musique et de rhétorique" from his earliest youth (J. Stecher, *Oeuvres de Jean Lemaire de Belges,* Louvain, 1891, IV, 522). — Molinet says in his *Response a Guillaume Cretin,*

distinct impression in their reports that these references were superficial, perfunctory, and more in the nature of ornamentation than an integral part of the artist's thinking. A re-examination of his writings, especially of the verse contained in *Les Faictz et Dictz* [4] will furnish abundant proof that this impression is an erroneous one.

In considering the references to music in Molinet one is confronted with two kinds: first, straightforward factual accounts of persons, music, musical instruments, and musical performances such as are found in the *Chroniques* and, second, those in which music, musical instruments and musicians are used as illustration and imagery. Let us leave aside the rather uncomplicated matter of the purely historical works and consider certain aspects of the second category.

The inclusion of numerous *chanson* incipits (80 or so) in his *Oraison à Nostre Dame, La Collaudation à Madame Marguerite,* and the *Débat du gendarme et le vieil amoureux* has been described as a mere musico-literary curiosity and *tour de force,* as have also the rhymed letters to Loyset Compère and Busnois. A number of such passages have been published and referred to in the same vein by modern historians. Other parts of his poems have been somewhat puzzling, in particular two long lists of instruments — one in *Le Trosne d'honneur,* a poem commemorating the death of Philippe le Bon (1467), and the other in *Le Naufrage de la Pucelle,* a kind of half poem-half novel (really a political allegory). These two selections have been dismissed as utterly confused, the latter particularly, and cited as evidence of Molinet's untrustworthiness as a source of information. Michel Brenet calls the passage in *Le Trosne d'honneur* simply a display of technical terms ("on le voit faire étalage de termes techniques") and the other passage she terms a "curieuse tirade" [5]. Jeanne Marix also felt that these lines were instances of "la plus grande confusion." She goes on to say:

"En toy flourissent par excellence trois redolentes fleurs qui en moy perissent par vielesse, l'une est grammaire qui en moy decline, musicque que diminue et le rhetorique dont je ne suis de riens trop ricque." *Les Faictz et Dictz de Jean Molinet,* ed. Dupire, Paris, 1936, 837. — Dupire states, without amplification, "il est musicien et ami des musiciens les plus illustres de son epoque; il fait un éloge enthousiaste de la musique, connaît à fond les termes de cet art, apprécie en connaisseur les oeuvres musicales." Dupire, *Molinet,* 354.

4 Molinet's poems, never published during his lifetime, existed in numerous manuscripts. They were published as a collection after his death in 1507. The earliest exemplar we have is of 1531, entitled *Les Faictz et Dictz du feu de bonne memoire maistre Jehan Molinet, contenans plusieurs beaulx traictez, oraisons et champs royaulx.* Paris, 1531. See *Chroniques de Molinet,* ed. Doutrepont et Jodogne, Bruxelles, 1937, III, 25.

5 M. Brenet, "Quelques passages concernant la musique dans les poésies de Jehan Molinet," *Bulletin de la Société Française de Musicologie,* I (1917), 21.

> "Molinet, pour évoquer le concert harmonieux des sirènes, cite pêle-mêle tous les instruments qu'il connaît, beaucoup plus soucieux de paraître érudit que conscient du vacarme produit par un ensemble d'instruments aussi disparate ... Compositeur, ami des musiciens, Molinet se complaît aux allusions musicales, mais elles ne sont le plus souvent que pédantisme littéraire dont le principal intérêt aura été de conserver le nom technique des instruments" [6].

This remark sums up the general opinion of Molinet held by scholars — he was a dilettante fond of using musical terms to impress his naïve audience.

We can certainly discount the statement by one scholar that Molinet was interested as a craftsman in preserving the technical names of various instruments. While some of them had already become rare and others were due to disappear before too long, he could not have foreseen their disappearance, and I doubt that such was his motive. As to Marix's idea that his allusions to music are mere literary pedantry, is it so strange that a man intimately connected with music and something of a musician himself should use musical terms as elements of his poetry? By no means. They were part of his vocabulary, they had meaning for him; it was perfectly natural for him to draw on his experience. Why then did Molinet make these apparently confused references to musical instruments? Was it only to give an impression of erudition? I think not. The answer is, that they are not confused or accidental but in strict conformity with the demands of the literary artistry of his age.

As *maître ès arts* of the University of Paris, Jean Molinet was thoroughly grounded in the arts of medieval rhetoric and poetry. By the middle of the Fourteenth century the great impulse given to learning by Charlemagne's reform was gradually fading out and intellectual Europe was beginning to perceive the faint dawn of the Renaissance. The intense intellectual effort of the Schoolmen, which resulted in the analysis of human learning under the Trivium and the Quadrivium, was degenerating into mere semantics. The school of poetry most often associated with the court of Burgundy, whose members go under the collective title of "Les grands rhétoriqueurs," had completely lost any genuine poetic inspiration and their poetry had become a highly complex and extremely ingenious exercise in poetic technique for its own sake. They had become imbued with the purely theoretical studies which were the continual interest of the Middle Ages. The professors of the Sorbonne had studied most intensively all of the Arts of Rhetoric of antiquity and had devoted themselves to the

6 J. Marix, *Histoire de la musique et des musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne sous le règne de Philippe le Bon,* Strasbourg, 1939.

most minute analyses of every possible form of literary expression. Just as Abelard is said to have expended his logic on the question "How many angels, being incorporeal creatures, could stand on the point of a needle," so the teachers had spent their energies searching in the Greek and Roman rhetoricians for definitions and examples of every possible figure of speech and thought. Rhetoric was one of the aspects of the Trivium most intensively studied and had a profound influence on the thinking and especially on the literary expression of all of the writers of the later Middle Ages. Molinet was one of these, and we find consequently in his poetry almost continual preoccupation with the problems and the possibilities of classical rhetoric as it was analyzed by the Schoolmen [7].

We must keep in mind that Molinet was primarily a *rhétoriqueur* and only secondarily a musician; music and rhetoric, however, were so closely related that in his own *Art de Rhétorique* [8] Molinet calls rhetoric "une espèce de musique richmique." The idea of the close relationship between the two was more fully expounded by Eustace Deschamps, nephew of Guillaume Machaut and, like him, one of the "grands rhétoriqueurs." In his *Art de Dictier* of 1392 he divides music into two kinds: *musique artificiele* — of notes, clefs, lines, proportions — which even "le plus rude homme du monde" could learn, and *musique naturele,* which could not be taught to anyone unless his proper nature inclined to it. This latter art Deschamps called a "musique de bouche en proferant paroules metrifiées." He remarks that both Kinds of music are "si consonans l'une avec l'autre que chascune peut bien estre appellée musique," but he himself discusses only the art of writing poetry [9]. Of the two arts *musique naturele* was held in somwhat higher esteem, at least by the literary men. Here we have a clue to Molinet's own attitude. In his poems, however bad they

[7] The best modern discussions of the rhetorical art in the Middle Ages are those of 1) E. Faral, *Les Arts poétiques du XIIe et du XIIIe* siècles, Paris, 1923 and 2) E. de Bruyne, *Études d'esthétique médiévale,* Bruxelles, 1946. I have relied on them extensively.

[8] Pub. by E. M. Langlois in *Recueil d'Arts du Seconde Rhétorique,* Paris, 1902, pp. 214-253. This treatise is rather an "art poétique", dealing mainly with the technique of writing verse, than a work on rhetoric proper.

[9] "Et est a sçavoir que nous avons deux musiques, dont l'une est *artificiele* et l'autre est *naturele.*

L'artificiele est celle dont dessus est faicte mencion; et est appellée artificiele de son art, car par ses .vi. notes, qui sont appellés *us, ré, my, fa, sol, la,* l'en puet aprandre a chanter, acorder, doubler, quintoier, tierçoier, tenir, deschanter, par figure de notes, par clefs et par lignes, le plus rude homme du monde, ou au moins tant faire, que, supposé ore qu'il n'eust pas la voix habile pour chanter ou bien acorder, sçaroit il et pourroit congnoistre les accors ou discors avecques tout l'art d'icelle science . . .

L'autre musique est appellée naturele pour ce qu'elle ne puet estre aprinse a

may be (and some of them are the merest rhyming verse,) his first consideration was the use of the word according to the principles of the art of rhetoric. We can therefore expect that what he wrote he intended to write, and that the lists of musical instruments were not merely haphazard but put down according to a definite plan.

Let us first consider the list of instruments in *Le Naufrage de la Pucelle.* At this point in the narrative (prose in this section) Molinet has spoken of the song of the sirens whose chanson was composed of such "melodious consonances" and "measured proportions" that the "subtle cantilenas, the artistic masses and harmonious motets of Ockeghem, Dufay, Binchois, and Busnois" could not be compared to them. He goes on to say that the sirens after this began, in their clear high voices, a new composition *(modulation)* so joyful that if all the

> "herpes, orgues, vielles, psalterions, luctz, naquaires, chalemeaux, essecquiers, cimbales, simphonies, choros, challemies, doulchaines, timpanes, rebelles, sonnettes, tamburins, fluctes, guisternes, trompes, clarons, bedons, sambucques, tibies, tintinabules, cornes, monocordes et decacordes, tant de cordons que de cordes, estoients ensemble accordés, si ne porroient ils causer jubilations plus plaisant." [10].

This passage is that considered by Marix to be confused. How can we reconcile this apparent jumble of instruments with Molinet's usual systematic style and accuracy? The solution is easy once we realize that very often he used a prose style which approached poetry and which is usually termed *style à tournure* or *phrase cadencée* [11]. It is a highly rhythmic, even rhymed, kind of prose, one which we find in the passage under consideration. If we read the passage, beginning with "herpes, or-

nul, se son propre couraige naturelment ne s'i applique, et est une musique de bouche en proferant paroules metrifiées, aucunefoiz en *laiz,* en *balades,* autrefoiz en *rondeaulx cengles* et *doubles,* et en *chançons baladées*...

Et aussi ces deux musique sont si consonans l'une avecques l'autre, que chascune puet bien estre appellée musique, pour la douceur tant du chant comme des paroles qui toutes sont prononcées et pointoyées par douçour de voix et ouverture de bouche; et est de ces deux ainsis comme un mariage en conjunction de science, par les chans qui sont plus anobliz et mieulx seans par la parole et faconde des diz qu'elle ne seroit seule de soy. Et semblablement les chançons natureles sont delectable et embellies par la melodie et les teneurs, trebles et contreteneurs du chant de la musique artificiele...

Et de cest musique naturele... vueil je traictier principaument..." E. Deschamps, *L'Art de Dictier* in *Oeuvres complètes,* ed. G. Raynaud, Paris, 1891, VII, 269f.

10 *Les Faictz et Dictz,* Dupire ed., 90; henceforth referred to as Dupire.

11 See Doutrepoint et Jodogne, *op. cit.,* III, 173ff. for many examples of this technique.

gues," in more or less equal lines (six or seven syllables) we find that it falls exactly into the cadenced style, using four rhymes, and ends with an ornament frequently used by Molinet — *homoioteleuton* (two lines ending with the same syllable or word):

"herpes, orgues, vielles,
psalterions, luctz, naquaires,
chalemeaux, essecquiers,
cimbales, simphonies,
choros, challemies,
doulchaines, timpanes, rebelles,
sonnettes, tamburins, fluctes,
guisternes, trompes, clarons,
bedons, sambucques, tibies,
tintinabules, cornes,
monocordes et decacordes,
tant de cordons que de cordes..."

This gives the following rhyme scheme:

a
b
b [12]
c
c
a
-
-
c
-
d
d

Not only is this a passage in *phrase cadencée* but also an outstanding example of a common rhetorical device whose technical name is *frequentatio* — the practice of listing many varieties of a species (flowers, virtues, instruments, etc.). An ancient rhetorical technique, it is used for amplification and emphasis. It was perfectly familiar to Molinet's hearers and readers, increasing for them the impression of splendor [13].

12 It should be noted that the rhyme b b (naquaires-essecquiers) is a *rime normande*. The rhyme of the silent with the sonorous *r* was common practice in the 15th century.

13 A. Pirro in *Histoire de la musique de la fin du XIVe siècle à la fin du XVIe*, (Paris, 1940) refers to several poems of the 14th century which exemplify these principles. *Les Echecs amoureux*, Machaut's *Prise d'Alexandrie* and *Remede de Fortune*, Chrestien de Troyes' *Erec et Enide*, Wace's *Roman de Brut*, Jean Lefebvre de Resson's *Respit de la Mort*, and many others have interesting examples of musical terms used as *frequentatio*. Some of these are reproduced more extensively

It was esteemed so highly that it was carried over even into the Sixteenth century and is an outstanding feature of Rabelais' style. What appears to be confusion to our present way of thinking was simply a highly systematized and rational oratorical procedure in the Fifteenth century, one designed to produce a certain effect rather than to give an accurate account of an actual, or even probable, concert.

A similar device is observed in *L'Arbre de Bourgogne,* a long occasional piece, also a mixture of prose and poetry. In the middle of a passage describing the peasants' joy over the fruitfulness of the "arbre" (which here symbolizes the Burgundian line) Molinet slips into candenced prose, using two rhymes.

> "De ceste nouvelle alliance . . . furent les pastoureaux grandement rejoÿs et mirent sus nouveaux esbattemens, jeux, danses, saulx, feus et carolles et, selon l'estat bucolicque, prindrent musicaux instruments et soufflèrent en leurs musettes; museurs juerent chanconettes, chantres chanterent beaux rondeaux, rondelleurs rimerent rimettes, et rimeurs firent laiz honestes, pour gaignier couronne et chappeaux . . ." [14].

Here he combines another rhetorical device with the cadenced style, namely, *adnominatio* or *paranomasia,* in the special category called *paregmenon,* essentially a play on words using two words derived from the same root in succession. The many instances of this practice occurring throughout both the *Faictz et Dictz* and the *Chroniques* are too numerous to enumerate but obvious to even the most superficial reader.

The other pertinent passage consists of two stanzas from *Le Trosne d'honneur.* The first stanza lists birds and their songs, ending with a reference to a chanson by Busnois, *Doeul angoisseux,* in the last line; the second stanza lists musical instruments — again without any apparent order — and ends with a reference to *proportions, prolations, longs,* and *breves.*

> Oyseaux des champs, chantans chans et deschans,
> Changiés vos chans, mués vos gargonnés,
> Les tenebres de nos coeurs annoyans
> Noians, fondans, fendans et desplaisans:
>
> Plaisans montans, rossignos, cardonnés,
> Nets sansonnés, sonans sus buissonés,
> Sons et sonnets, sonnés sans soneries
> Doeul angoisseux en vos sansonneries

in E. A. Bowles, "Haut and Bas: The grouping of musical instruments in the Middle Ages," *Musica Disciplina,* VIII (1954), 115ff.

14 Dupire, 241.

Tubes, tambours, timpanes et trompettes,
Leutz, orguetes, harpes, psalterions,
Bedons, clarons, clocquettes et sonnettes,
Cors, musettes, simphonies doulcettes,
Chansonettes de manicordions,
Proportions, doulces prolations,
Perfections de longues et de briefves,
Mettés vos tons en dissonances griefves [15].

The order, or apparent lack of it, in the list of instruments is accounted for once more by a rhetorical principle. Rhetorically the passage may be explained as accumulation or *frequentatio* (as in the quotation from *Le Naufrage)* and poetically as a very special kind of fixed form — *rime batelée,* which Molinet says in his *Art de Rhétorique* he had invented himself. The form is a 10-syllable line with rhymes occurring between the last syllable of one line and the fourth syllable of the next, except at the end.

. . . . . a
. . . a . . . . . b
. . . b . . . . . a
. . . a . . . . . a
. . . a . . . . . b
. . . b . . . . . b
. . . b c
. c

Notice also that the first stanza uses *rime enchaînée* in addition. This consists in identity of the last syllable or syllables of one line with the beginning syllable or syllables of the following line.

Two of his longer poems where musical concepts and Christian theology are inextricably confused in rhetorical terms — *Ballade appellée champ roial* and *Petit traictiet de la harpe* — demonstrate even more clearly the medieval rhetorical principles Molinet followed. An analysis of the *Ballade* will suffice to show how he used the figures of thought and speech which are essential elements of rhetoric and poetics of the Middle Ages.

[15] *Op. cit.,* 39.

Quant Terpendreus sa harpe prepara
De sept cordons, selonc les sept planettes,
A Jupiter Ypaté compara,
Sol a Mesé, et fit par ses sonnettes
Paripaté resambler Saturnus,
Licanos Mars, Paramesé Venus,
Neté Luna, Paraneté Mercure;
Et quand ces sept cordons, sur son arcure
Concave a point, saudee et bien vernie,
Furent assis, il eut par art et cure
Harpe rendant souveraine armonie.

Similitudo

Descriptio and historia (res gesta sed ab aetatis nostrae memoria remota)

Cette harpe, qui si belle forme a,
Puis figurer par vives raisons nettes
A Marie, vierge que Dieu forma
Du tronc Jessé et de ses racinettes.

Theme

La seiche Anne dont on faisoit refus
Porta le bois roial et le bel fustz,
Dont ceste harpe eut humaine facture.
Prudence, Force, Attrempance, Droiture,
Foy, Esperance et Charite unie
Sept cordes sont, qui la font sans fracture,
Harpe rendant souveraine armonie.

Interpretatio (eamden rem dicere sed commutate)

Amplificatio

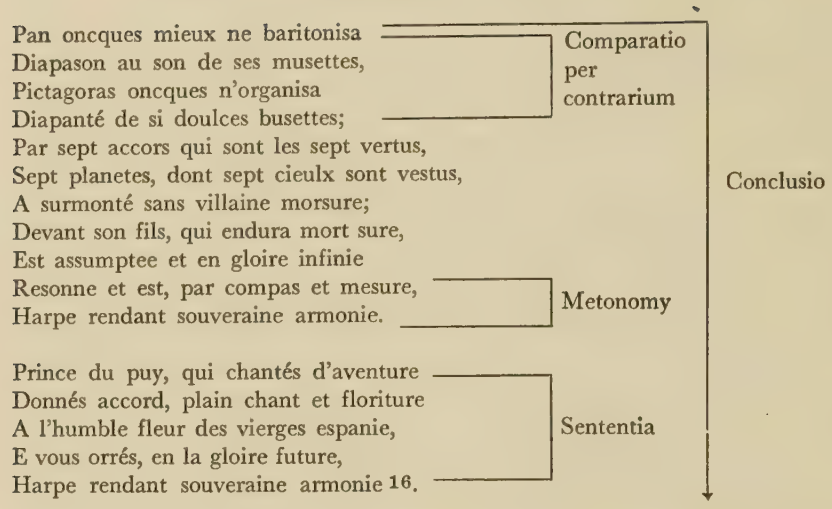
Au temple fut presentee et sonna
Si hault que Dieu oyst ses chansonnettes;
Rice salut Gabriel lui donna
Et lui dict: "Vierge, entens mes chans honnestes:
Le fils de Dieu concepveras, Jhesus."
Sur ce teneur respondit au dessus:
"Je ne cognois virile creature;
Nientmains selonc ta parolle ou lecture
Il me soit faict." Lors fut elle garnie
D'art, de musique et fut, par conjecture,
Harpe rendant souveraine armonie.

Calembour
Contentio
Metaphor

Car a ce mot deité s'accorda
Au gendre humain marchant sus espinettes:
Si doulx accord sa harpe recorda
Qu'elle endormit serpenteaux et rainettes:
Sy tres doulx mos sont de sa bouche issus
Que les haulx cieulx de Dieu fais et tissus,
Jadis fermés, luy ont faict ouverture
Et ont brisiet infernale clausture,
Pour retirer humaine progenie:
Si dis qu'elle est, plus que dessus nature,
Harpe rendant souveraine armonie.

Perifrasis
Metonomy

Significatio per consequentiam


Pan oncques mieux ne baritonisa
Diapason au son de ses musettes,
Pictagoras oncques n'organisa
Diapanté de si doulces busettes;
Comparatio per contrarium
Par sept accors qui sont les sept vertus,
Sept planetes, dont sept cieulx sont vestus,
A surmonté sans villaine morsure;
Devant son fils, qui endura mort sure,
Est assumptee et en gloire infinie
Resonne et est, par compas et mesure,
Harpe rendant souveraine armonie.
Metonomy
Prince du puy, qui chantés d'aventure
Donnés accord, plain chant et floriture
A l'humble fleur des vierges espanie,
E vous orrés, en la gloire future,
Harpe rendant souveraine armonie 16.
Sententia
Conclusio

Within the rigid form of the *ballade* Molinet has employed many of the medieval rhetorical devices. The whole first stanza *(exordium)* is *descriptio* and *historia* — narrative figures of thought. In the second and third stanzas, after the statement of the theme, he continues with *amplificatio* and *interpretatio,* refining and restating the theme, and includes the metaphor of Marie resembling the "harpe rendant souveraine harmonie." The fourth stanza illustrates *significatio per consequentiam,* or emphasis by logical consequence, and uses the devices of *perifrasis* (expression of a simple idea by circumlocution) and *metonomy* (substitution of one idea for another which it suggests, as here Marie *is* the harp). The last stanza is the *conclusio,* or summing up, and includes the figures of *comparatio* and *metonomy,* while the *envoi* states the *sententia* or maxim.

This poem is remarkable not only from a technical rhetorical standpoint but also because of the musical vocabulary used. Not only does he liken the seven strings of the harp to the seven planets and the seven virtues, he also uses their Greek names. References to mythology and classical antiquity were considered an adornment of style, hence the allusions to the musical figures of Terpander, Pan, and Pythagoras. *Teneur* and *dessus* are musical terms as well as a *jeu de mots* (a device at which Molinet excelled), as are *chanconnettes* and *chans honnestes.* He uses a *calembour* (mes chans = méchants) and *contentio* (opposition by contraries) in *mes chans honnestes* (méchants — honnêtes). *Baritonisa, organisa, diapason, diapente, resonne, compas, mesure, plain chant, accord, floriture* — all are musical terms used properly but often in a double sense as well.

The critic could of course continue in the same vein the analysis and

16 *Op. cit.,* 447.

commentary of all the poems which contain musical references, but I believe the material discussed has yielded abundant evidence that Molinet knew what he was doing. No further proof is needed, but I cannot resist developing the subject a bit further. His musical vocabulary is extensive; he mentions 38 different instruments and has used at least 68 other technical musical terms and expressions [17]. Many of them are employed in figures of speech, as in this passage:

> "Ne voiés vous comment Fortune pour nous espoventer nous a monstré sa brune face et comment ceux qu'elle faisoit danser avecq elle a sa haulte note nous ont tourné le dos. Or laissiés convenir les dieux, laissiés faire les destinees. Tel y chante à la haulte game et s'amuse a ses longues poses, qui bien polra deschanter en la basse nature et diminueront ses temps par soudaine muance de b mol en b dur" [18].

Another amusing and striking passage is the following — a kind of musical version of the *Wheel of Fortune.*

> "S'il vous samble que Dandenare face plus que le possible ou miroer de ce monde par son art magicque, je vous dis bien que Fortune fait encoire plus fort es choses quasi incredible, par sa fainte musique, car souvent advient qu'elle eslieve une povre minime de petite valeur, sy le fait monter en pou d'espace, par regles, degrés et jointures de la main, tellement qu'elle se treuve au plus haut de la game, tant augmentee et de sy grant value que cest povre note qui n'estoit que simple minime devient une grande maxime, portant une bien longue queuwe et illec chante a haulte voix: le serviteur hault guerdonné. Et quant Fortune voit qu'il se degoise et glorifie en son estat, qui n'est point de majeur parfait, elle dit a ses chambourieres: la, la, la, faictes luy bonne chiere. Mais la fine gaupe, cognoissant les tampz les modes, les couleurs, les imperfections, les prolations, les proportions, et les tons de musicque, soudainement le fait descendre de hault en bas par soubtilles nuances, dont elle scet les tours, sy qu'elle le boute jus du nit, se l'apprend a deschanter son petit mineur et a diminuer tant legierment et sy bas que sa voix n'est plus oye . . ." [19].

Musical terms and *jeux de mots* may be found in many places in the poetry and prose, used in many ways — alliterations, calembours, allegory, metaphor and especially a kind of descriptive itemizing, called *distributio,* which, like *frequentatio,* was used to heighten the effect of a definition.

17 This is not the place to list all of the terms. Many of them are included in the examples given in this paper, and additional ones are to be found in *La Journée de Therouenne, Petit traictiet de la harpe, Le Hault siege d'amours, Debat du gendarme et de l'amoureux,* and *Le Naufrage de la Pucelle.* For musical references in the *Chroniques* see A. van der Linden, "La Musique dans les Chroniques de Jean Molinet," in *Mélanges Ernest Closson,* Bruxelles, 1948. For a discussion of the qualities and uses of medieval instruments, see Bowles, *op. cit.*

18 Dupire, 705.

19 *Roman de la Rose moralisé,* Ch. 86, cited in Dupire, *Molinet,* 23.

> "Car musique est la resonance des cieulx, la voix des angeles, la joye de paradis, l'esperit de l'aer, l'organe de l'eglise, le chant des oyselets, la recreation de tous coeurs tristes et desolés, la persecution et enchassement des diables..." [20].

Not all the references are *tours de force;* often they are graceful and charming, as in the following passage from the *Dictier poetical,* an allegory of the marriage of Zephirus and Flora.

> "Noctimene, la honteuse hullotte,
> Voloit chanter et se n'y sçavait note,
> Mais Apollo, de sa harpe nouvelle,
> Une chanson leur jua, Dieu scet quelle,
> Tandis que Pan soufloit en sa musette
> Et que Orpheüs accordoit sa vielle,
> Pour decorer la joieuse florette" [21].

As a last instance of Molinet's ways with words, we may quote his *Recommendation à Jehan de Ranchicourt.* While the verses have no value whatever as poetry, the reader may be amused to discover for himself the various technical devices used therein.

> Jehan Grignon, sçachiés que j'ay rech*ut*
> Une oroison de celle qui conch*ut*
> Le filz de Dieu, (afin) d'estre ado*ré;*
> L'ouvraige (dont) est fort bien faict, do*ré;*
> Faulte n'y voys d'ung seul traict ne de*my,*
> Ceux l'ont prisiet qui mieux valent de *my.*
> Benoict soit il, qui sy bien estof*fa*
> Celle qui soubz les angles trium*fa;*
> Je vous envoie ung ut, re my, fa, *sol,*
> La, chantés fort, musés y vostre *sol;*
> Se vous fallés, vin buverés, s'on *l'a,*
> Tant qu'on dira la, la, mon amy, *la.*
>
> *La*beur se pert, riens ne recoeulle } Ran
> *Lar*rons sont fins, horrible guerre a }
> *Sol*lers use on, en querant paix i } chi
> *Sol*as nous fuit, doeul nous tient a mer }
> *Fa*usseté bruyt, envye regne en } court.
> *Fa*mine arons, car nostre argent est }
> *Mi*lle gaurriers chanteront par b } Mol
> *Mi,* la, s'on pille, il y fait doulx et }
> *Re*querons Dieu que le bon temps jo } li
> *Re*viengne brief et amaine anco }
> *Uti*le paix se chanterons tout } net!
> *Ut,* ré, my, fa, sol, la, vive Jen [22] }

[20] *Chroniques,* ch. 9.
[21] Dupire, 716.
[22] *Op. cit.,* 804.

There has been a tendency especially since Romanticism on the part of scholars and critics to regard the writers of the Middle Ages as primitive and naïve. No mistake could be more egregious in the case of Jean Molinet, who was an artist of the greatest possible ingenuity and sophistication. Music was thoroughly familiar to him and his references to it are due to deliberate intelligent planning, not by any possible stretch of the imagination to whim or caprice or stupidity; what may seem illogical and banal in the Twentieth century was often perfectly logical and admired in the Fifteenth. For Jean Molinet the music of the words and the techniques of handling them was all-important; he was writing "une espèce de musique" and the pleasure of the "musique naturele" was intensified by his use of the musical vocabulary and by references to the "musique artificiele."

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LOYSET COMPÈRE AND HIS WORKS *

LUDWIG FINSCHER

IV. THE MASSES AND MASS SECTIONS

The Masses

Compère's masses, however important a position they hold among the composer's total output and among the mass composition of the age of Josquin, are but few in number. Three complete cycles of the ordinary are known. One of them, the *Missa Dubiplen* [1], seems to be lost; the remaining two, *Missa L'homme armé* and *Missa Alles regrets,* widespread as their sources are [2], must have enjoyed an unusual reputation. The more astonishing, therefore, that Petrucci, who in his motet and chanson prints obviously favoured Compère, did not publish a collection of masses from the composer's works. Probably the four or five complete masses necessary for a volume of *"Misse Compère"* were not available [3], and the few works which are extant today may indeed represent the total of Compère's efforts in this field of composition. Among his contemporaries, who since Dufay obviously considered the mass the most important liturgical form of composition, the one prominent and representative species of Netherlandish music, Compère thus stands nearly alone [4]. The chanson composer par excellence may have had his difficulties in mastering the complicated and

* *Editor's note:* Compère's *Opera omnia* are in course of publication in *Corpvs Mensvrabilis Mvsicae* of the American Institute of Musicology (three volumes, out of five, being already in print). Compère's masses, of which the present article is an analysis of style and technique, are published in Volume I of the *Opera omnia.* For a biography and bibliography of Compère see *Musica Disciplina* XII (1958).

1 The title is probably from *Dubiplex* (*in festis duplicibus*) or from a chanson title, possibly *De tous biens plaine.* The only source known to me, Be 40634, was transferred to Upper Silesia during the last war and has been lost since.

2 Cf. chapter III of this study.

3 This supposition is confirmed by the observation that Compère is the only composer obviously favoured by Petrucci in the *Odhecaton* (like Josquin, de Orto, Obrecht and Pierre de la Rue) yet not included in the series of masses published by Petrucci in later years. Cf. B. Kahmann, 'Antoine de Fevin. II. A Bibliography', *MD* V, 1951, 153 sq.

4 The only other important composer of this time disinclined to mass composition and a chanson specialist like Compère being Busnois, of whom two masses (*L'homme armé* and *O crux ave lignum triumphale*) have been preserved.

expanded forms of mass composition, and indeed an inclination to create small and distinct sections and subsections is discernable even in his two masses.

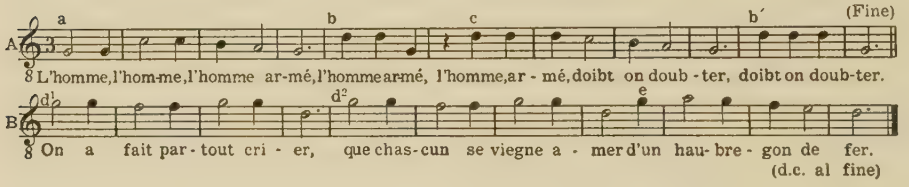
Missa L'homme armé

The "L'homme armé" mass must have been one of Compère's most popular sacred works, sung in many European regions and by most diverse performers — at the Burgundian court and its surroundings as well as at the maîtrise of Cambrai, in the Papal chapel, in the German "Kantorei" and perhaps even in the private house of the rich merchant and music lover during domestic services and devotional hours [5].

The work can but approximately be dated according to the sources, the oldest of which are probably Chigi and CS 35. Judging from both, the work may have been written around 1480-1490.

The well known cantus firmus is sung by the T, four times completely and five times incompletely according to the following disposition [6]:

(Ex. 1)


a
b
c
b′
(Fine)
A
L'homme, l'hom-me, l'homme ar-mé, l'homme ar-mé, l'homme, ar - mé, doibt on doub - ter, doibt on doub-ter.
B
On a fait par - tout cri - er, que chas-cun se vieigne a - mer d'un hau- bre - gon de fer.
(d.c. al fine)

	A	B	A
1. complete	a b c	d^1 d^2 e	a b c
	Kyrie	Christe	Kyrie
2. complete	a b c	d^1 d^2 e	a b c
	Et in terra	Qui tollis	
3. incomplete	a b c	d^1 d^2 e	
	Patrem		
4. complete	a b c	d^1 d^2 e	a b c
	Crucifixus		

[5] Cf. chapters II and III of this study. Use of the mass in domestic services could be deduced from ms M 3154. Its possessor and (in all probability) collector, Nikolaus Leopold of Innsbruck, perhaps received part of its contents from the court chapels at Innsbruck and Torgau, but he obviously used the ms for his own purposes which surely must have exceeded pure collector's and owner's pride. Cf. chapter II of this study.

[6] The section b′ is omitted by Compère as well as by most of the contemporary composers. It is used, however, by the older generation (Dufay, Ockeghem, Obrecht) and by Brumel.

5. incomplete	a b c	d^1 d^2 e	a c
		Sanctus	
6. incomplete	a (4 times)	d^1 d^2 e	
	Pleni	Osanna I	
7. incomplete	a (6 times)	d^1 d^2 e	a c
	Benedictus	Osanna II	
8. incomplete	a b c	d^1 d^2 e	
	Agnus I	Agnus II	
9. complete	a b c	d^1 d^2 e	a b c
		Agnus III	

A tendency to regard the c.f. sections as independent units and to use them for a kind of thematic development is obvious. Apart from the last statement, the c.f. is scarcely considered a pre-existent unit, to be preserved reverently; on the contrary, single sections are constantly isolated, suppressed or repeated. Though this technique is certainly invited by the simple form and the clear-cut, well articulated melody of the c.f., it is scarcely to be found elsewhere with similar consistency. Josquin (*sexti toni*), Pipelare and Pierre de la Rue ("little" "L'homme armé" mass in Jena 2) do repeat single c.f. sections, but they never build a complete mass section on one c.f. fragment alone; moreover, in these masses the c.f. is wandering from the T to the B and S, while Compère strictly adheres to the orthodox tenor c.f. construction. On the other hand, the melodic shape of the c.f. nearly remains unaltered; free coloration or long appendices to single c.f. sections, so typical of the "L'homme armé" masses of Dufay and Ockeghem, are scarcely to be found. Thus traditional tenor axis, orthodox melodic integrity of the pre-existing c.f. and free, "modernistic" c.f. disposition curiously stand side by side.

Unusual, too, is the tonality of c.f. and mass. While the monophonic (Naples) and polyphonic secular versions of the melody [7] like most of the

7 Chansons by Morton (Borton) and an anonymous master printed in Obrecht, *Werken* (first edition), *Missen* 5, 94 sq.; by Josquin pr. in A. Smijers, *Van Ockeghem tot Sweelinck,* No. 45 (p. 155). A chanson by Pierre de la Rue, mentioned by O. J. Gombosi, *Jacob Obrecht,* Leipzig 1925 (*Sammlung musikwissenschaftlicher Einzeldarstellungen,* 4), 47, does not exist (cf. *MGG* s.v. Larue).

"L'homme armé" masses use the g-dorian or the myxolydian mode, Compère, seconded only by Obrecht, transposes his c.f. to e-phrygian [8].

Like no other c.f., the "L'homme armé" melody has inspired the famous artificialities and canonic feats of the Netherlanders [9]. Compère, too, pays tribute to the fashion and seasons his work with mensural complications and canonic devices, starting with the Credo [10]:

Credo m. 1-58	Tenor	02 against ¢
Sanctus	Tenor (Altus)	canon of the lower second after 2 tempora
Pleni	Tenor pes ascendens	
Osanna I	Bassus (Tenor)	canon of the ninth after two tempora
Osanna II	Tenor (Altus)	canon of the fifth after four tempora
Agnus Dei I	Tenor (Altus)	canon of the lower second after two tempora
Agnus Dei II	Tenor	C against ¢
Agnus Dei III	Tenor (Altus)	canon of the upper second after one tempus

Conspicuously, only one usual canonic interval (the fifth) is used, while all the other canons (the unproblematic mensuration canons excepted) make use of the most difficult intervals and seem to attack the problems inherent quite systematically. The c.f. section A is sung twice, on different steps of the scale, in a canon of the second after two tempora and lastly after one tempus; section B appears in a canon of the ninth in close and

8 The c.f. is g-mixolydian in masses by Ockeghem, de la Rue ("little" mass in Jena 2), de Orto and Mouton; g-dorian in works by Brumel, Busnois, Caron and Dufay; d-dorian in works by de la Rue, Pipelare and Josquin (*super voces musicales;* here, of course, the tonality of the mass is d-dorian, while the c.f. is set *super voces*). Apart from the usual procedure as in the works by Obrecht and Compère, stands Josquin's "L'homme armé" mass *sexti toni* (cf. B. Meier, 'Zyklische Gesamtstruktur und Tonalität in den Messen Jacob Obrechts', *AfMw* X, 1953, 305 sqq.). The mass cycle in Naples VI E 40 brings the c.f. in g-dorian or g-mixolydian while the tonality of the masses is differing (g-dorian, c-ionian, f-lydian). The alleged "L'homme armé" mass quarti toni in Ca 18, 52'-68 bears no resemblance to the "L'homme armé" melody.

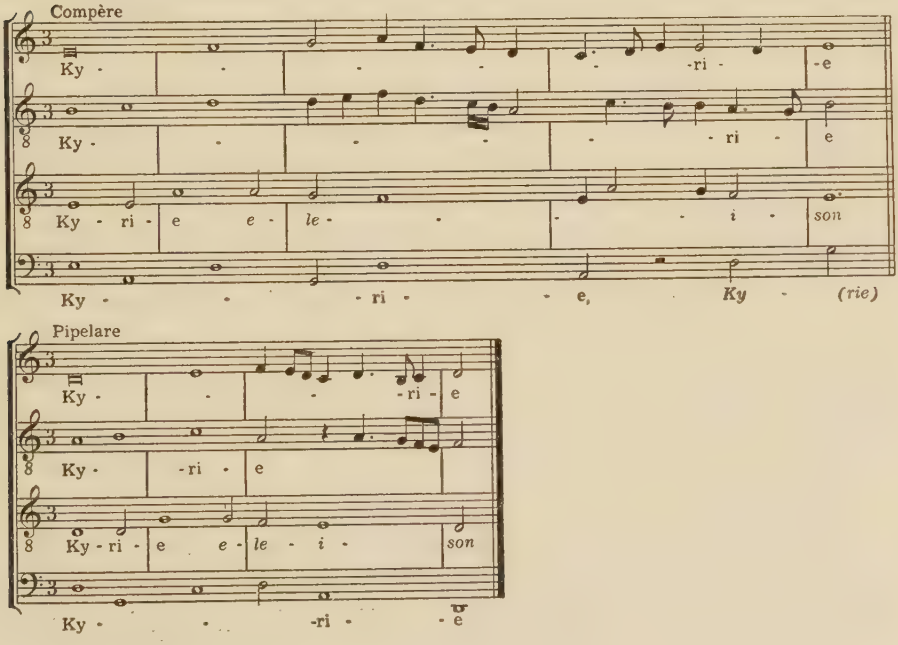
9 Cf. the tables in L. K. J. Feininger, *Die Frühgeschichte des Kanons,* Emsdetten 1937, 53 sqq.

10 To set aside the canons for the last section of a mass and thereby to achieve a spiritual concentration and a climax at the end of the work is a procedure liked especially by Josquin (cf. Feininger, *loc. cit*). Concerning other means to achieve a final climax cf. below, note 15.

then in a canon of the fifth in wide imitation. Similarly, the canons are arranged in symmetrical order: canons of the upper or lower second and ninth surround the one canon of the fifth. In each section, one of the canonic voices sings the c.f. in the original phrygian mode. Agnus Dei III, already singled out in that it brings a statement of the complete c.f., gains additional importance and weight since here the most complicated and difficult device is used (canon of the upper second in closest imitation). Thus the last section of the work, even without additional voices beyond the classical four-voice-structure, effects an impressive final climax.

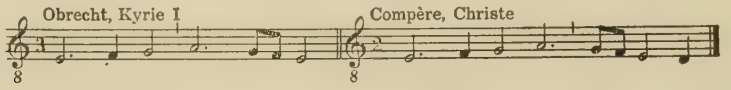
The great amount of canonic voice-doubling used in the last sections of the work prevents the usual insertion of contrasting sections for two or three voices. However, Compère's aversion to any reduction in the solid, traditional four-voice structure is similarly conspicuous in the non-canonic sections: apart from a short duet in the Gloria, the "L'homme armé" mass is consistently written for four voices.

In its contrapuntal aspects the mass presents an extraordinarily varied and even contradictory picture. The Kyrie, built along the normal sequence of tempora O - Ȼ - Ø, opens in full harmony without imitation, m. 1-3 bearing an almost literal resemblance to the beginning of Pipelare's "L'homme armé" mass (Ex. 2) [11].



11 This correspondence together with an occasional repetition of fixed motives and polyphonic sections (Kyrie m. 7-8 and Gloria 13-15; Kyrie 17-18 and Gloria 57-

In marked contrast to this compact movement, the Christe shows a lighter structure, making frequent use of voice pairing and imitation. Although notated in ¢, the movement is (judging from the cadences and the melodic structure) obviously written in a disguised triple time. The c.f. is separated from the other voices by the traditional slow motion in long, rhythmically abstract note values. Again, there is a curious quotation: the opening motif of the first imitative duet is literally taken from the beginning of Obrecht's "L'homme armé" mass (Ex. 3) [12].



The second Kyrie is strictly constructed in "through-imitation", the melodic substance of the outer voices being derived (contrary to the Christe) from the c.f. Thus the complete Kyrie, taken as a whole, tries to combine, by virtue of the unifying c.f. alone, three quite different contrapuntal techniques: the traditional full-voice tenor-c.f. treatment without imitations or structural cadences; the tenor-c.f. axis of long notes surrounded by free imitation in the other voices, and the "through-imitation" of motives taken from the c.f., while the old-fashioned slow motion of the T is abandoned at last. This juxtaposition of quite different and even contradictory methods of handling the c.f. is further expanded in the other sections of the mass.

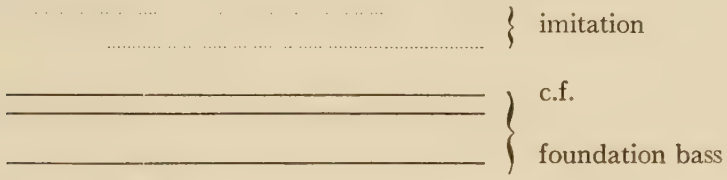
The first part of the Gloria adopts the technique of the last section of the Kyrie, coining concise declamatory motives from the c.f. substance and making ample use of tone repetition, chordal homophony and skilful voice grouping following closely the liturgical text. Together with Kyrie II, this is the most "progressive" section of the whole work. After the short imitative duet on Domine Deus, the opening motif of which is derived from the c.f., the last section of the Gloria (m. 57-94) starts with free imitations playing

60) at identical c.f. passages may possibly point to a common polyphonic model, perhaps a chanson, which, however, could neither be identified nor reconstructed. On the other hand, the identical S beginning of the two masses could be explained by conscious or subconscious reminiscences of Gregorian models (cf. the similar Kyrie settings in the Trento mss, thematic catalogue *DTÖ* VII No. 531 and 1220 and the beginning of the Gregorian *Kyrie Deus sempiterne, Liber usualis,* 22).

12 Judging from the identical rhythmic form of the two motives, conscious citation seems highly probable, but it is possible that Obrecht took his motive from the same source which perhaps influenced the identical opening sections by Compère and Pipelare (cf. the S ex. 2 with ex. 3). Gombosi's attempt to explain the motif ex. 3 as a coloration of the c.f. head motif (*Obrecht,* 60), is unconvincing. Obviously the relation between ex. 2 and ex. 3 is much closer than that between ex. 3 and the beginning of the c.f.

around the slowly progressing c.f. (similar to the Christe), but soon develops into a slowly moving but flexible full-voice tenor-c.f. statement, partly chordal, partly imitatory and strictly following the liturgical text, the most important parts of which are being stressed by "noematic" contrasts (m. 68, 80, 85).

The Credo adds as a second c.f. to the "L'homme armé" melody the first Gregorian Credo [13], which is sung nearly unadorned, but transposed by various intervals, by the S and in consistent imitation by the A. Against this, the T proceeds with the first c.f. in long notes, while the B, adapted to the T, mostly proceeds in similarly slow motion and with the typical unvocal intervals of the Burgundian *contratenor bassus*. The impression given by this old-fashioned "Spaltsatz" is further intensified, since the whole Credo, apart from the opening imitation and some pauses in the c.f., proceeds in full four-voice harmony from beginning to end. Graphically, the structure of this movement can be indicated as follows:



In conformity with these retrospective tendencies, not the slightest effort is made to interpret either the grammatical structure or the meaning of the text, although the whole Credo is markedly chordal in its technique, offering every opportunity at least for rhythmic declamation of outstanding sections of the text. Against the simple, clear and declamatory Gloria, there is no greater contrast imaginable than this ponderous, old-fashioned Credo, the most retrospective part of the mass.

The Sanctus opens with a short imitative duet of the outer voices using the first phrase of the c.f. After the canon in the middle voices has started, S and B proceed without further important imitation; the upper voice in smooth and lively motion with strongly accentuated rhythms contrasting to the lower voices; the B slowly moving like the middle voices but using

13 The addition of Credo I as a second c.f. seems to come into fashion in Josquin's time (concerning Josquin himself cf. C. Dahlhaus, *Studien zu den Messen Josquins des Prez,* Göttingen 1952, dissertation (typescript), 28 sq.). The older masters seem to be more reserved in this respect. Dufay nowhere uses the Credo I as secondary c.f., Ockeghem only in his lost mass *La belle se sied* (but here the chanson c.f. perhaps paused in the Credo, cf. Ockeghem, *Works,* ed. D. Plamenac, II, xxxix) and (the beginning only) in his mass Mi-mi. Obrecht and Gaspar van Weerbeecke use excerpts only, never the complete Credo I.

the angular fourths, fifths and octaves of the typical *contratenor bassus.* Whereas imitations affecting the structure of the movement do not occur after the opening measures, the Sanctus is yet clearly articulated by cadences distributed according to the *caesurae* of the c.f. Moreover, the tripartite form of the "L'homme armé" melody is reflected by the whole polyphonic structure: with some alterations, m. 6-16 are repeated in m. 26-36. By this device, which seems to be quite exceptional in its time, a simple tripartite form, strongly reminiscent of song and chanson compositions of the period, is achieved:

Introduction	m. 1-5	imitation of c.f. beginning
A	6-16	c.f. section A
B	16-26	c.f. section B
A′	26-36	c.f. section A
Coda	36-39	cadential appendix

Obviously, the chanson-composer Compère even in his most expansive work tried to think in terms of small, lucid and well balanced musical forms.

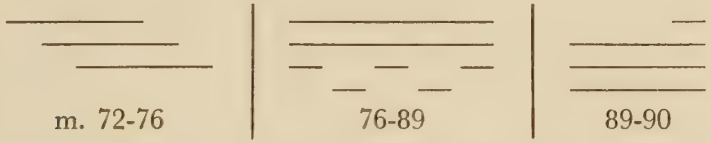
The Pleni sunt caeli, contrary to the conventional custom of the period, is written for the full ensemble of four voices, but does achieve the traditional effect of a reduced number of voices by using not more than two voices most of the time. While the c.f. phrase a is sung four times in the T, forming a *pes ascendens,* the other voices are mostly used in pairs imitating free motives or singing in parallel tenths. Again, a strong tendency to build small and lucid forms is evident [14].

The first Osanna begins, like the Sanctus, with a short imitation of the slightly altered first c.f. phrase in the upper voices, followed by the canonic treatment of the c.f. phrases d^1, d^2 and e in T and B. The lower voices, slowly progressing in abstract, arhythmic *breves* and *longae,* form the harmonic foundation upon which S and A sing a free melismatic duet in lively motion and with strong rhythmic accentuation. Again, the form of the c.f. is reflected in the "Bar"-form of the whole movement:

14 The extent to which the *pes ascendens* is used here not as trivial or artificial play but as constituent of the form becomes evident by comparison with Sanctus and Pleni from the "L'homme armé" mass by Marbriano de Orto (Petrucci, *Misse de Orto* 1505 No. 3). Here again the c.f. is used as *pes,* but without relation to the form of the movement. The luxuriating ornamental melodic lines of the outer voices overflow any possible attempt to articulate the development by cadences, imitations or contrasts. Moreover, the *pes* in itself is used inconsistently, rhythmically altered in the Sanctus and suddenly abandoned before the end of the Pleni. This paradoxically irrational and inconsistent use of the most rational devices is often apparent in works by Ockeghem and his followers. The most rational constructive ideas and experiments of Compère cannot better be contrasted than by comparison of these two works.

Introduction	m. 54-56	imitation of c.f. beginning, slightly altered
A	56-60	c.f. phrase d^1
A′	61-65	c.f. phrase d^2
B	65-71	c.f. phrase e (sequences in the upper voices)

Whereas Osanna I recalls the Sanctus, Benedictus bears close structural resemblance to the Pleni. After four measures imitating a free motif in the outer voices, the tenor, liberally adopting the technique of the *pes ascendens*, states the c.f. phrase six times, beginning on changing steps of the scale (e, d, g, e, a, b). When the T stops, the B repeats its motives, so that the lower voices, continually stating the c.f. phrase a, form an ostinato pattern above which the upper voices in similar fashion, alternately or in close imitation, build and vary ostinato motives independent from the c.f. Due to the alternating T and B, the whole movement, except the last measures, is written in four-voice, but actually sounding in three-voice counterpoint:



The extremely rational, thoroughly organised construction of this movement presents an ingenious combination of traditional artificialities and modern simplicity which does not stand second to the classical "through-imitation" of Compère's most mature and progressive works.

The second Osanna, like the first, makes use of the "Bar"-form of its c.f. section. Measures 91-95 are repeated with major alterations in m. 96-98, but this repetition has no bearing on the form of the whole movement, since an extended statement of phrases a and c from section A of the c.f. follows; moreover, unequivocal and formative *caesurae* are veiled by the widely overlapping *fuga quatuor pausarum* in the middle voices.

The first Agnus Dei is constructed exactly like the Sanctus (opening imitation of the outer voices m. 1-5, then canon A-T surrounded by free melismatic outer voices with a tendency to isolate the lively S from the slow-moving lower voices, thus creating a structure similar to that of the earliest Burgundian chanson type), but since only the c.f. section A is used, no fixed form like that of the Sanctus can be developed from the c.f. The second Agnus Dei returns to the technique of the Christe (tenor-c.f. in slow motion, surrounded by lively imitations of the outer voices) using even a

similar opening motif and, like the Christe but unlike the first Osanna, making no use of the "Bar"-form of the c.f. section B.

The third Agnus Dei begins with regular imitation of the four voices like a "through-imitated" movement, until the slow and regular motion of the canon axis is set off against the livelier outer voices. Again, no effort is made to use the form of the c.f. for the form of the whole polyphonic structure, but at least the beginning is marked by the modal irregularity of the opening imitation (entries on d, c, d and e at the beginning of a phrygian setting). Thus, the third Agnus Dei as the final section of the work is set off against the previous movements in a threefold manner: by the complete statement of the c.f., by the difficult canon of the upper second in close imitation, and by the modally irregular opening imitation of all four voices. Obviously, a final climax is aimed at and achieved even without the traditional use of supplementary voices [15].

The melodic style of the "L'homme armé" mass is as varied and even contradictory as its contrapuntal technique. The T, bound throughout by the c.f., has no possibility to achieve characteristic melodic distinction. The A seems partly to be conceived as a supplementary voice to an original three-voice setting, making ample use of skips with melodically "dead" intervals, transpositions in the octave and wide-range scales (sections in *tp. perfectum:* Kyrie I); it is also closely related to the S (sections in *tp. imperfectum,* especially Credo and Agnus II, where the imitative connection of the two voices is most apparent). The B is nearly always subordinated melodically to the upper voices, functioning as the traditional *contratenor bassus* without melodic individuality, moving slowly, full of skips of the fourth and the fifth and devoid of melismas most of the time.

Under these conditions, the S naturally becomes the dominant melodic part of the four-voice structure, preserving in modernised, but not principally different manner, the traditional treble-dominated setting with two or three subordinate lower parts of Dufay's time. Consequently, the melodic style of the S is consistent in *tp. perfectum* and *tp. imperfectum* alike, characterised by long, richly articulated, seemingly aimless winding phrases. The sequence as a means of rational and purposeful melodic construction is conspicuously absent. The restless, ornamental melody is most strongly accentuated and driven forward by the rhythmic impulses of a small number of stereotyped, punctuated, syncopated motives. Likewise typical is the constant alteration of pace and tempo, a sudden change from stagnating to precipitate motion often overflowing all formal distinctions.

As unintelligible and multiform as the melodic style of the mass is its

15 Concerning the final climax in Josquin's masses cf. Dahlhaus, *loc. cit.,* 498.

harmonic idiom. The cadence types [16] are generally very old-fashioned. The modern type V-I (the B ascending a fourth or descending a fifth) is found almost exclusively in the cadences within the Credo; the conclusions of the main sections usually show the parallel cadence VII^6-I, in which the B likes to strike in after the *ultima,* descending from the third to the key-note (as often in Ockeghem) or reaching the third of the final chord by leaping a fourth upward while the T descends to the key-note. Such passages make clear that the composer has not yet come free from the ideas of the traditional three-voice counterpoint and that he regards the B as an additional rather than a fundamental voice, although the same work offers a good deal of marked foundation bass sections. The Credo, already in contrast with the other movements of the mass by its contrapuntal technique and by the accumulation of V-I cadences, is striking also by its extraordinary accumulation of deceptive cadences, found only sporadically in the rest of the mass. This is due to the paraphrase of the plain song in the upper voices, tending continuously to g, and the permanent wresting of these cadences to e shows the composer's effort for maintaining the tonality of the mass against the tonality of the Credo I. On the other hand, a lack of tonal concentration is evident from the frequent endings in a and g instead of e:

Kyrie	a	Patrem	g	Agnus I	e
Christe	e	Crucifixus	e	Agnus II	g
Kyrie	e	Sanctus	a	Agnus III	e
Et in terra	e	Pleni	a		
Domine Deus	e	Osanna I	e		
Qui tollis	e	Benedictus	g		
		Osanna II	e		

This observation is verified by the cadences within the single movements, where c, d, e, g and a are represented practically in equal shares. Moreover, the sequence of cadences too is still completely arbitrary, the thoroughly constructed Benedictus alone showing a regular pattern (a d g c g c g a d g).

Thus, Compère's "L'homme armé" mass appears to be a contradictory and unbalanced work. The musical tendencies of the second part of the 15th century seem to be united in it, but they do not come to a synthesis, standing in curiously unconnected juxtaposition instead. Badly arranged, full-voice movement stands beside initial imitative organisation and even "through-imitation"; c.f. movement of long notes with free outer voices

16 Cf. H. Besseler, *Bourdon und Fauxbourdon,* Leipzig 1950, 32 sqq., and G. Reese, *Music in the Renaissance,* New York 1954, 44 sqq. concerning the cadential types and their chronological order.

beside the four-voice variant of the Burgundian "Spaltsatz" (duet of the upper voices contrasting with chordal foundation) and equal organisation of all voices; an irrational and scarcely articulated flux of motion beside simple chanson-like forms and melodic patterns; deviating melismas and lines beside motives with precise declamation of the text; the modern V-I cadence beside the most old-fashioned forms of cadences.

However, the impression of the old-fashioned elements of style is the prevailing one. Among the "L'homme armé" masses of Compère's contemporaries there is rarely a work combining such a lot of contradictory characteristics, and at the same time there are few compositions — apart from the famous canon masses by Josquin and Pierre de la Rue — emphasizing the "arts" of the Netherlanders in such an old-fashioned and scholastically systematic way.

Missa Alles regrets

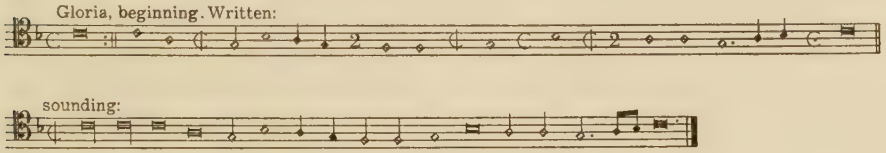
The second mass by Compère still extant may have been written between 1485 and 1490 (1494) according to its sources — in any case not during the composer's stay in Italy, as all sources originate in the Burgundian-Hapsburgian area.

The work is based on one of the most famous chansons of the late Burgundian time, "Alles regrets" by Hayne van Ghizeghem [17]. The tenor of the chanson, carried out in the mass tenor, serves as c.f.; in addition, S, A and B use fragments of all the three voices of the model (preferring S and T) to an extent hardly to be found elsewhere in this generation. The c.f. is carried out completely six times (Kyrie - Gloria - Credo - Sanctus - Agnus Dei I/II - Agnus Dei III), the disposition thus being essentially simpler than in the "L'homme armé" mass. By the considerable extension of the c.f., the textually short movements turn out to be in excessive disproportion: the Kyrie runs to 70 m., the Sanctus to 111, whereas the Gloria comprises 57 m. and the Credo 102 m. only. The main melodic *caesura* of the chanson (m. 33) is considered in the bipartition of longer text passages (Gloria and Credo), whereas, where a tripartition of the c.f. becomes necessary (Kyrie, Sanctus - Osanna I - Osanna II), none of the cadences of the chanson is used, a new *caesura* (m. 46) being inserted instead.

The simple c.f. arrangement is complicated by a continuous change of mensuration, destroying often the c.f. as a melodic unity and transforming it into an abstract frame of the composition. Long notes up to *duplex maxima,* original values and vivacious diminution are found in abrupt juxtaposition, only the last exposition bringing the c.f. in its integrity as

17 Reprint of the chanson Hewitt, *loc. cit.,* No. 57.

a final climax of the work. The complicated notation of the c.f. with its continually varying mensuration documents a highly speculative attitude and a spirit of experimentation apparent in changing configuration in most of the composer's works: the voice of the chanson appears unchanged as far as the written note is concerned; the actual performance however presents quite a new shape (Ex. 4).



Except for a short *tripla* at the end of the Benedictus, the mass is composed in *tp. imperfectum diminutum* and is thus in accord with most of the masses of this time paraphrasing a chanson in one or several voices [18]. Unusual however (as in the "L'homme armé" mass) are the independent setting of Osanna II, the composition of all the three parts of the Agnus Dei and the continuous full-voice setting of Kyrie, Gloria, Credo and Agnus Dei. The Sanctus, however, shows the normal arrangement: Sanctus and Osanna I/II are set for four voices, Pleni and Benedictus for three voices without tenor.

Kyrie I [19] begins in the S with m. 1-27 of the chanson S, the whole phrase being scarcely varied in melody and rhythm but lengthened by rests. At the beginning of the movement, A and B first imitate S and T; in the further course of the development, A imitates again S in m. 14-17, continuing freely after this. B brings in m. 9-10 a diminished anticipation of the tenor-c.f. and m. 13-15 a citation of the chanson B (m. 18-20). The polyphonic structure is much loosened by the imitations and articulated by a lucid arrangement of cadences common to all the voices, following the proportions of the c.f.

In a long introduction for three voices, the Christe at first brings the beginning of the second part of the c.f. in A, adding a motif derived from the chanson S (m. 37-38) imitating between B and S. After that, the chanson S is carried on, passing through the voices (m. 25-34 of the mass:

18 As to Josquin cf. Dahlhaus, *loc. cit.*, 83; furthermore the Complete Edition of Ockeghem (mass 3) and of Obrecht (masses 1, 3, 14, 17, 22). The technique seems to take effect not earlier than at the time of Josquin and only in works modern from the stylistic point of view; Gaspar van Weerbecke for instance, whose style of chanson masses still depends on Dufay, transposes the *tp. imperf.* of the models into the traditional *tp. perf.* of the older mass composition. (Transcriptions of Gaspar's masses were kindly placed at my disposal by Dr. G. Croll).

19 A detailed analysis cannot be dispensed with, owing to Compère's complicated technique of paraphrasing.

m. 37-40 of the chanson in S, 40-43 in B, 43-47 in S), m. 28-29 moreover adapting a cadence of the whole three-voice model (m. 38-40 of the chanson) which is cited several times in the course of the mass. By the entry of the c.f., the outer voices continue freely.

Kyrie II begins with a three-voice anticipatory imitation of the last c.f. section, followed by m. 43-50 and 9-16 (in this order of succession!) of the chanson S in the mass S. The outer voices are free again as long as the c.f. proceeds in the tenor; then a three-voice interlude follows again, before the c.f. (diminished by half) is repeated. Here the second line of the c.f. (m. 13-19 of the chanson) is imitated in S and A, after which m. 21-25 of S and T of the chanson appear in A and B, the last measures after that bringing the final section of the chanson S in the mass S. The clear and simple shape of this movement corresponds exactly to the double exposition of the c.f.: each time an imitatory introduction for three voices precedes a full-voice exposition of the c.f., the introductions citing a good deal of material from the chanson voices, the c.f. expositions being free or nearly free from chanson material in the outer voices. Traditional tenor-c.f. treatment and advanced parody technique are linked together by the identity of the melodic material used. Likewise clearly constructed are the proportions of the three Kyrie sections (24 : 21: 25 m.).

The bipartite Gloria gains its astonishing shortness by vivacious declamatory tone repetitions and by frequent overlapping of text passages. The tenor-c.f. is, as in the Kyrie, partly contrasted to the outer voices by slow motion, partly assimilated to them perfectly. The movement is divided distinctly by cadences common to all voices, corresponding to the division of the text. The paraphrase of the model is not quite so complicated as it is in the Kyrie; the profusion of text in the Gloria as well as in the Credo leaves no space for the ostentation of contrapuntal artificialities.

At the beginning the chanson S appears again in the S in m. 1-6; in m. 13-16 the whole three-voice section of m. 16-22 from the chanson is adapted in A, T and B (with S freely added). From then on, the first part remains almost free from citations up to its end[20].

Qui tollis begins with an imitation of the diminished m. 34-38 of the c.f. in S, A and B; then follows another citation of the S-T-frame of the chanson: at first m. 37-40 in S and A, then 40-43 in A and B, finally the complete model m. 43-46 in S, A and B (m. 34-39 of the mass movement). Immediately after the c.f. entry, m. 35-40 of the complete model are cited (m. 40-43), a supplementary imitation S-A being added. The rest of the Gloria is free from citations.

20 Only m. 20-30 of the S bring a more independent paraphrase of the chanson S m. 27-33, and in m. 28-30 the B adapts the *clausula* of the chanson B (m. 31-33).

The first part of the Credo brings m. 8-16 of the chanson S in the mass S (m. 19-24) and is free for the rest. While the c.f. is arranged almost completely in long notes, the outer voices are concisely concentrated by imitations, declamatory passages in equal rhythm or parallel motion (particularly in tenths between S and B). The motives are directed almost totally towards syllabic declamation of the text, so that the lengthy text of the Credo is set forth in a comparatively short space. Occasional contrasts already go distinctly beyond the mere presentation and declamation of the text to an affective interpretation (e.g. m. 37 sqq. the enthusiastic "ritardando" on "Et homo factus est" and the declamatory "Crucifixus" abruptly opposed to it). The final flourish in S and A is a favourite stock phrase of the composer [21].

Like the second part of the Gloria, Et ascendit begins with a longer introduction for three voices making full use of the model. At first m. 34-37 (38) of the whole model appear in S, A and B (m. 53-55), then the chanson S (up to m. 40) is carried on in S and then moves (up to m. 54 of the chanson) between A and B, while the corresponding parts of the chanson S (m. 40-48) appear in S and A (m. 56-66 in the mass). To the following first entry of the T, the corresponding parts of the outer voices of the chanson are cited by S and B with an interpolation (caused by the augmentation of the first c.f. note) and with A as a free supplementary voice (m. 34-40 of the chanson in m. 66-71 of the mass). Then the movement is free, except one imitation of the c.f. in S and A (m. 96-97). Up to the end imitations and declamatory passages of the free outer voices prevail (as they do in the first part), the "Pfundnoten"-c.f. building the central axis of the composition.

Beyond the combining strength of this c.f. axis, the whole Credo is unified by three interrelated declamatory motives (not derived from the c.f.), which are repeated continuously [22]. Besides that, the repetition of identical three-voice model sections at identical or similar c.f. passages has a further unifying effect [23]. The tendency to strict unity in variety (served by the parody technique as well) is so pronounced that it asserts itself by resorting to such means as soon as the technique of parody has to pause with regard to the treatment of the text.

At the beginning of the Sanctus, the opening motif of the chanson S is taken simultaneously in original values and in diminuition (B and A), whereas the S imitates the beginning of the c.f. exposition of the tenor.

21 Cf. the endings of Sanctus and Osanna II, furthermore the motet chanson "O vos omnes — o devotz cueurs" m. 4 and the chanson "Venes regrets" (again based on Hayne van Ghizeghem's "Alles regrets").

22 m. 4-5, 11-13, 15-17, 67-70, 73-75, 78-80, 82-84, 91-92.

23 m. 40-42 : 80-82 : 94-95 are the most striking examples.

Occasionally passages of the c.f. or free motives are imitated in the outer voices; as for the rest, S, A and B freely play around the tenor axis.

In the Pleni the tenor pauses, but the second part of the c.f. is carried on, running through all the three voices (m. 24-29 S, 29-33 B, 33-35 A, 36-38 B, 37-39 A, the final *clausula,* in addition, being transposed in the B). The end of the movement (m. 39-47) is free. S passages belonging to the respective passages of the c.f. are adapted only partially together with the c.f. (m. 29-31 A, 30-35 S). Consistent "through-imitation" is almost achieved, and having abandoned the model, the movement mainly uses "Stimmtausch" and repetitions.

Osanna I takes, at the beginning, the headmotif of the second part of the c.f. in S and A, together with the corresponding bass passages in B (m. 48-50). The section of the whole model already used several times (m. 38-40 of the chanson) again appears in m. 54-55, prepared by the preceding two measures of the chanson S in the mass S. The end of the movement imitates free motives in the outer voices.

The Benedictus is set for three voices without tenor (as is the Pleni), letting consecutive sections of the c.f. wander through the voices (m. 68-69 Before the final *tripla* begins, the complete model passage, already cited independently of their context: m. 47-50 in the S (m. 75-76 in the mass) and m. 43-45 in the B (m. 81-82). To this the beginning of the chanson S appears at the beginning, imitated by A, S and B; the end of the chanson S is interpolated in the middle of the movement in the S (m. 77-81). Before the final tripla begins, the complete model passage, already cited several times, is again used, the B being shifted against the upper voices. The final *tripla* itself is a "Bar" with two "Stollen" of two m. each and an "Abgesang" of four m.: a free duet in S and A is repeated in A and B slightly varied; the "Abgesang" is formed by a three-voice section, beginning imitatively and using m. 50-54 of the chanson with a free appendix (*clausula*) in the S.

Osanna II begins with a longer anticipation of the second part of the c.f. (as does Osanna I), in this case in A, to which at the beginning the corresponding passages of the outer voices appear in their original position. So the beginning cites m. 34 sqq. of the whole model with all its voices, whereas the further course is completely free and very much interspersed with imitations and parallel motion of the outer voices.

Agnus Dei adds to the c.f. exposition the opening motif from the chanson S as an *ostinato* in S, diminished by half by the mensurational direction ₵ 2 and interrupted by irregular rests. The entry of the c.f. and the *ostinato* is preceded by a short introduction for the two free voices, in which the B gives an anticipatory imitation of the *ostinato* and the A executes simultaneously the headmotif of the c.f., considerably varied and

diminished. In the further course, the B cites m. 15-23 of the chanson B (m. 9-13), whereas the A imitates the S *ostinato* from time to time.

Agnus II appears to be "through-imitated" almost consistently. It begins with the imitation of scale motives in the outer voices; m. 32-36, imitation and sequences of a motif derived from the c.f. section simultaneously executed, are added. Agnus Dei II is the only movement in the mass that is completely free from citations from the outer voices of the chanson.

Agnus Dei III again adheres somewhat closer to the model. At the beginning a motif derived from the opening motif of the chanson S is imitated, later on extracts are given from the model with all its voices (m. 53-56; in m. 59-61 the passage repeatedly mentioned). Furthermore, several c.f. motives and free motives are imitated, so that the whole movement stands in an almost consistent "through-imitation". As the c.f. is given in its original shape, the tenor is no longer contrasting axis of the movement, but participates in the imitations. Equality of the voices is fully realized — for the first time in a c.f. movement of this mass.

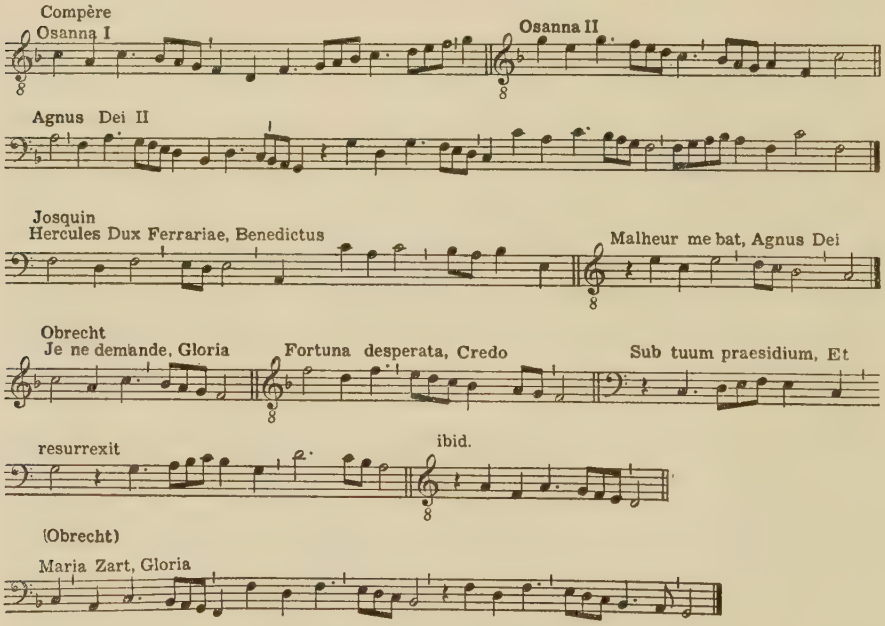
The dominating principles of this mass are its parody technique and its use of imitation.

The parody technique clearly manifests a nearly inexhaustible pleasure in uniting the obligation imposed by a given model with the full freedom of transformation and re-creation; enjoyment to the full of the possibilities of contrapuntal experimentation with the model — demonstrating unlimited artistic skill and working out every imaginable solution of a given problem (exactly as it was done with the canon problems of the "L'homme armé" mass). Passages for two or three voices of the model are cited exactly, transposed, with a shifting of the voices against each other or with a supplementary voice; two extracts not belonging together are combined; extended sections from one voice appear with supplementary voices; fragments of a voice are cited in new succession or pass through several voices; single motives are remodelled, imitated or used as an *ostinato.* Preference is given to the adaptation of the treble-tenor frame of the model, but a principle different from that of the unlimited *varietas* of a true *ars combinatoria* cannot be recognized in the use of the different techniques. Even imitation, playing a prominent part throughout the work, is used in a most diversified way; paired imitations with two motives at the beginning of a movement stand beside imitations of the two upper voices with free lower voices, long imitations in the opening trios without tenor-c.f., imitations of the three outer voices around the slowly moving tenor-c.f. (as known from the most advanced tenor motets of Josquin's time)

and lastly consistent "through-imitation", sometimes combined with double counterpoint.

It is quite natural that with such close adherence of all voices to the model, even the freely invented melodic sections of the work have chanson-like features. As for the most part, the phrases are short, concisely formed and delicately balanced in the manner of the late Burgundian chanson. Leaps are adjusted by stepwise reverse progression, stepwise progression in one direction is led back to the starting point by leaps, phrases beginning calmly end in lively *clausulae,* vivacious motion calmly swings to the end. The aimless, irresolute movement, so characteristic of the melodic idiom of the "L'homme armé" mass, is completely missing.

Beside this chanson-like melodic idiom (presaging in its smooth balance laws of later classical counterpoint), declamatory motives play a decisive part in the movements rich in text, whereas, especially in Sanctus and Agnus Dei, the typical melodic formulas of imitatory settings around a slowly moving c.f. (to be found especially with Josquin and Obrecht) are frequently used (Ex. 5) [24].



24 Similar formulas already in the "L'homme armé" mass, above all in Agnus Dei II. These are the same figures which some decades later will be so refined and generally known, that they are taught as instrumental manners for improvisation (Ganassi, *Fontegara* 1535; Ortiz, *Tratado de glosas* 1553); cf. B. Disertori, 'Un incunabolo di assolo per il violone', *RMI* 46, 1942, 455 sqq., and by the same author, "Il manoscritto 1947-4 di Trento e la canzone 'i'ay prins amours' ", *RMI* 48, 1946, 1 sqq.; furthermore *MGG* s.v. Ganassi.

All these peculiarities of style become evident, nearly equally, in the three outer voices, owing to the tendency towards consequent imitation above all. At least one configuration of the old-fashioned "Spaltsatz", vivacious upper voices above a heavy structure in the lower voices, so prominent in the "L'homme armé" mass, is here abandoned almost totally, and the modern equality of all voices is achieved at least in the three-voice sections and in the last Agnus Dei.

The harmonic style, as well as the melodic idiom, is simpler and clearer than that of the "L'homme armé" mass. Among the cadences, the modern type V-I prevails. The parallel cadence (for four voices) is rare, the octave leap appears in two cases only: at the octave of the c.f. (m. 25 of the chanson) and at the *clausula* of the c.f. towards d (m. 39-40 of the chanson), where by an octave leap the B gains free scope against the lower T. On the other hand, special forms of cadences showing a remarkably distinct feeling for harmonic effects and for the emphasizing force of a delayed cadence can be found at some prominent final cadences: a delay by a sudden sixth chord and evasion to the fourth step (Kyrie II, Osanna II) or circling around the fourth step after a cadence already executed (Osanna I), nuances in color by change of major and minor third (Credo, first part).

The beginning and the end of all sections of the mass are in f or c, and the interior cadences confine themselves almost completely to the intervals d and f, tonal concentration thus being achieved to a degree uncommon in a composition of this extent. The strife for harmonic and tectonic distinctness and unambiguousness also determines the reluctance to use deceptive cadences, which is in marked contrast with the chanson, in which nearly all cadences (m. 11, 19, 40, 43) are deceptive. An awareness of sonority even greater than in the "L'homme armé" mass is apparent in the frequent parallel progression in thirds and tenths.

The technique of parody analysed above seems to be quite unusual up to the time of Josquin [25]. The method of parodying a whole passage of the model can be found occasionally in Dufay (*Missa Ave regina coelorum,* where m. 86-96 of the motet "Ave regina coelorum" is cited faithfully in

25 Concerning the parody technique before the classical period of 16th century parody mass cf. above all J. Daniskas, 'Een bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der parodietechniek', *TVer* 17, 1948, 21 sqq.; G. Reese, *loc. cit.,* passim; R. B. Lenaerts, 'The 16th Century Parody Mass in the Netherlands', *MQ* 36, 1950, 410 sqq. Lenaerts is the first to try setting in order the frequently contradictory and opposing opinions and technical terms, but his conception of the 15th century technique of parody as "a composition with several cantus firmi" seems to be too narrow. The following possibilities, the succession of which corresponds roughly to the chronological development, may be discerned from a systematic point of view:

1. Two or three voices are adapted from the model and combined with one or

m. 72-82 of the Agnus Dei), but here the handling of single phrases and motives of the model is still lacking. Ockeghem in his *Missa Forsseulement* approaches the parody technique of Compère in some respects and moreover abandons the traditional integrity of the c.f. in one voice building the *fundamentum relationis,* but sticks closely to the original sequence of the model's sections keeping shy of Compère's experiments in combinations [26]. An anonymous mass *D'ung aultre amer,* stylistically close to Dufay [27], paraphrases, besides the T of Ockeghem's chanson, parts as well of the chanson S in the corresponding voice, but never digresses from the original contrapuntal structure, avoiding new combinations and using the two voices by Ockeghem as S-T-frame faithful to the model. On the other hand, the masses *Se mieulx* and *Et trop penser* by Gaspar van Weerbecke do show many reminiscences of all voices of the model, but they ornament these adaptations to such an extent that the border line between paraphrase and free re-creation disappears; unaltered citations are hardly to be found. Thus the anonymous mass *D'ung aultre amer* stands between types 1 and 2 discussed above, whereas the masses by Gaspar are intermediate between types 2 and 3.

The first approaches to the parody technique by Josquin [28] are restricted almost completely to approximations of type 4 — formation of identical beginnings of movements by adapting the first few measures of the model in all voices; a new technique serving an old idea. The para-

several new voices, the substance of the voices taken from the model not being touched (frequently in the chanson composition of Josquin's time).

2. The voices of the model form the frame of the new composition, but they are paraphrased by interpolations, coloration and rhythmic variation (Barbingant, *Missa Terriblement,* cf. Daniskas, *loc. cit.*).

3. Neither whole voices nor groups of voices but motives or phrases are adapted and paraphrased in new contrapuntal combinations, remaining unchanged however diastematically and rhythmically. This is the parody technique mostly used in Josquin's time and to be found in many stages of development from occasional citation to consequent penetration of the whole work as it may be found in Obrecht and Compère.

4. Not single voices or phrases but a whole composition or a section from it is adapted, the complete contrapuntal structure and its paraphrase, not the motif or phrase being constitutive therefore. Approaches to this technique are found in Josquin and Pierre de la Rue (cf. Lenaerts, *loc. cit.*); they develop into the classical technique of parody of Gombert's period.

26 Cf. Reese, *loc. cit.,* 126 sqq.

27 Capella Sistina 51, 113-122. I owe reference to this work and knowledge of its transcription to the kindness of Dr. G. Croll.

28 Cf. Dahlhaus, *loc. cit.,* 477 sqq.; Reese, *loc. cit.,* 239 sqq.

phrase of particular motives and voice sections is very rare and nowhere to be found as a principle of construction [29].

Among the great composers of the 15th century Obrecht seems to be the only one to have developed and exercised type 3 of the parody technique in a consistent way [30]; among his works, however, only the mass *Je ne demande* shows a consistency similar to that of Compère's work. Obrecht's mass, which is surely the older one, for its style [31], served in all probability as a direct example for the mass by Compère. As done by the younger composer, Obrecht converts one voice of the model into a c.f. sung by the tenor; even the complications of changing mensuration are not missing. In addition, passages from the outer voices, sometimes also those of the complete model, are quoted, and this almost note for note so far as concerns diastematic and rhythmic values — as in Compère. In both compositions Gloria and Credo show considerably fewer quotations than Kyrie, Sanctus and Agnus Dei. Just as Compère with his Agnus Dei I, Obrecht bases his Pleni (Agnus Dei II, too, in the Munich version) on a supplementary *ostinato* derived from the beginning of the chanson. The similarity extends itself into technical and stylistic details: both composers have the head motif of the chanson S sung simultaneously by two voices at the beginning of the Sanctus — in Obrecht original and augmented, in Compère original and diminished. One may perhaps attribute, even, the strikingly frequent parallel movement in two voices, especially in the outer voices in Compère's work, to the influence of Obrecht, who just in this mass makes a most frequent use of parallel progression of tenths in the outer voices.

On the other hand, the differences between the two masses only concern details in contrapuntal technique. The mass by Obrecht lacks, above all, the close connection with the text in the Gloria and Credo and the abrupt change of movement in the c.f. found in Compère's mass, while

29 In this connection, comparison between the "Alles regrets" masses by Compère and by Josquin is of interest; as to Josquin's mass, cf. Dahlhaus, *loc. cit.*, 439 sqq. The same composer's mass on Brumel's "Mater patris" stands aside by its experiments in fauxbourdon, its parody technique roughly corresponding to type four described above.

30 Cf. Gombosi, *Obrecht,* passim; Reese, *loc. cit.*, 201 sqq. As to "Je ne demande" particularly cf. H. Chr. Wolff, *Die Musik der alten Niederländer,* Leipzig 1956, 49 sqq.

31 Gombosi (*Obrecht,* 91) wants to date the mass to 1491 or later, which seems to be a little late. Unfortunately there is no clue in the tradition, since in the only manuscript source, M 3154, the work is placed in one of the later fascicles difficult to date. Anyhow, an influence going as far as in these two masses seems to be possible from the elder master towards the younger only, not vice versa.

in the latter one misses the technique of sequence so characteristic of and decisive for the musical form of Obrecht's work.

In retrospect, the two masses by Compère turn out to be somewhat out of the way and quite different compositions of unusual historical and aesthetic interest. The "L'homme armé" mass, an early, old-fashioned and unbalanced work, shows nevertheless a surprising use of the c.f. formula for the construction of chanson-like rounded forms quite unusual in the mass composition of this time. The c.f. technique is characterised by a strange juxtaposition of the most different possibilities, beginning with the rigid tenor in long notes against free outer voices, continuing in the well-balanced equal motion of all voices, ending in the "through-imitation" of the c.f. material. In the same way the polyphonic structure sways between old-fashioned, scarcely articulated full-voice harmony and a most extensive loosening and rationalization of the setting by means of widespread imitations based on stereotyped motives. Harmonic and melodic style, too, appear to be unbalanced. The systematic sequence of the canons in the last movements shows for the first time the composer's marked inclination to musical speculation and to the "Dutch artificialities", a tendency that can be constantly perceived in Compère's works but which indeed looks peculiar if combined, as in this case, with a curiously unconnected juxtaposition of old-fashioned and modern techniques. With regard to details (as tonality and the shape of some motives), the "L'homme armé" mass by Obrecht seems to have been the model for Compère, but the aesthetic perfection of the greater composer's work is conspicuously absent in Compère's youthful and rather recklessly experimental composition. Compère's tendency to speculation becomes similarly evident in the mensuration of the tenor in his mass *Alles regrets*. Apart from this, the mass stands out of the path of general development because of its parody technique, the model for which was in all probability Obrecht's mass *Je ne demande*. Thus both masses by Compère seem to be obliged to Obrecht more than to any other great composer of his time — an astonishing fact, since Obrecht apparently did not form a school, and the more astonishing since between the two composers no biographical connection can be traced.

As regards form and melodic and harmonic idiom, *Alles regrets* shows, compared with the probably older "L'homme armé" mass, a dicisive simplification and unification of style. Besides parody technique, imitation comes to the fore, and a "modern" technique like "Stimmtausch" (double counterpoint) [32] occasionally crops up as well.

32 Of course, "Stimmtausch" in itself is an old technique originating probably from the St. Martial school, but the practice evidently got lost in the 15th century and was re-discovered not earlier than in the course of development of imitation,

The melodic idiom shows itself under the influence of the model with delicately balanced, chanson-like short periods. In addition, declamatory motives and stereotyped melodic formulas appear in the imitatory sections. The harmonic style stands in sharp contrast with that of the model as well as with that of the "L'homme armé" mass, the whole work obviously stressing a tonal centre hardly abandoned even in the internal course of the movements.

On the other hand, the work shows quite a lot of old-fashioned features, betraying a traditionalism behind all the modernistic ideas and experiments of the composer. Release from the structural c.f. axis in long notes is achieved for some sections only, and the consistent imitation proves to be mainly imitation of free motives in the outer voices to which the tenor-c.f. remains the traditional axis of the composition.

The essential features common to the two masses stem, despite stylistic differences, from this awareness of tradition, which imposes itself even when Compère is at his boldest experiments (a state of things completely missing in the late works, for example, of Josquin). This awareness of tradition appears, furthermore, in a speculative attitude that systematically undertakes problems in canon and all kinds of complications in contrapuntal technique. All these peculiarities — awareness of tradition, pronounced tendency to experimentation, and a keen sense of systematic development and solution of contrapuntal and formal problems — link these masses above all to the tenor motets, but also to most of the sacred works by the composer.

The Mass Sections

Four mass sections by Compère are known to us, each of them totally different from the composer's masses as far as style is concerned, and most of them (*Kyrie* and *Gloria sine nomine* obviously belonging together) apparently written as self-sufficient "fragmenta missarum", not parts of complete mass cycles now lost.

The *Credo Mon père* was published in Petrucci's *Fragmenta missarum* in 1505, and it may be assumed safely that like all the other compositions from this source Compère's work was written as a single mass movement, in keeping with the fashion (seemingly originating about 1500) of composing mass sections (particularly the Credo) rather than complete masses; a fashion which is reflected in Petrucci's publication, in the Credo ms from the Munich Court Chapel M 53, the Credo fascicles of Jena 35, Speciàlnik and other sources.

Kyrie, Gloria and *Credo sine nomine,* bearing no title in the sources,

particularly of paired imitation (cf. Reese, *loc. cit.* s.v. double counterpoint, 106, 254, 258 and passim).

have come down to us in several mss contradicting each other as to the combination of the three movements [33]. Together, they are to be found in but one source, Mod 4, where Kyrie I and II are moreover given secondary texts (Sanctus and Agnus) by a slightly later hand, thus converting the *Missa brevis* into a typical "recapitulation" mass [34]. In Mil 2267, Gloria and Credo are again connected, but the Kyrie is omitted for liturgical reasons [35]. Lastly, in three German sources the Credo alone is to be found: in the Munich ms mentioned above (containing Credo settings by Isaac, Brumel and Compère closely resembling each other stylistically), in Jena 31, replacing the missing Credo from Josquin's *Missa ad fugam* by way of later addition (which is quite senseless since Compère's Credo does not contain a single canon) [36], and in Annaberg 1126. Since, moreover, Kyrie and Gloria obviously belong together by virtue of their identical beginnings, thus forming a regular *Missa brevis* of the type later favoured by the German protestant composers [37], while the Credo stands apart, it may be assumed that the latter was originally intended to serve as a separate

33 Cf. chapter III of this study and the foreword to vol. I of our Compère edition (*CMM* 15).

34 This mass type, repeating the Kyrie as Agnus Dei, is occasionally found in the late 15th and especially the early 16th century: Agricola, *Missa primi toni;* Josquin, *Missa Una musque de Buscaya;* Obrecht, *Missa Libenter gloriabor;* Cadeac, *Missa Ego sum panis;* Jachet van Berchem, *Missa Mort e merci;* Gombert, *Missa Forsseulement.* Cf. Reese, *loc. cit.,* 341, 348; J. Schmidt-Görg, *Nicolas Gombert,* Bonn 1938, 159.

35 In the Ambrosian liturgy the Kyrie is sung on different occasions during the mass, so that a polyphonic setting would be inconvenient from artistic as well as liturgical reasons (cf. P. Wagner, *Einführung in die gregorianischen Melodien, Teil I,* Leipzig 3/1911, 72). Many of the mass compositions by Gafurius written for this liturgy omit the Kyrie, and originally complete mass cycles by other composers were entered into the Milan mss without their Kyrie sections.

36 By this the "considerably divergent" version of the mass (cf. Feininger, *loc. cit.,* 56) is explained, the only correct version being the one printed by Petrucci. In opposition to Roediger who supposes the Credo to be a section of the *Missa ad fugam* (*loc. cit.,* Notenverzeichnis, 75 x), Smijers regards it to be an independent composition and does not mention a possible connection with Josquin's mass (Josquin des Prez, *Werken, Missen XIV,* xxv). But undoubtedly the Credo was intended to serve as a supplement in the mass which would be incomplete otherwise (being then the only incomplete mass, followed by the only mass section of an otherwise perfectly uniform collection of complete masses).

37 The form of the *Missa brevis* outside Protestant regions seems to depend on local liturgical reasons. Thus, the normal *Missa brevis* in Milan (partly named *Missa brevis,* partly *Missa*) consists of Gloria, Credo and Sanctus with or without Benedictus (cf. above, note 35); Ockeghems *Missa sine nomine* of Kyrie, Gloria and Credo; the anonymous mass from ms Egerton 3307 of Kyrie, Sanctus and Agnus. Curiously enough, the so-called *Missa brevis* by Gaspar van Weerbecke is a complete mass cycle of considerable dimensions. These types of *Missae breves* are not to be

mass movement like the *Credo Mon père*. According to this assumption, the *Credo sine nomine* will be discussed apart from the Kyrie and Gloria which will be described under the title of a *Missa brevis sine nomine*.

Missa brevis sine nomine

The tradition of this work has just been discussed. By the earliest source transmitting at least the Gloria (Mil 2267) [38], we are able to conclude that the composition must have been finished around 1500.

Kyrie and Gloria are closely linked by the literal repetition of m. 1-5 of the Kyrie at the beginning of the Gloria. The further development of the Gloria, however, is independent from the Kyrie, and a common c.f. for the two movements cannot be found. The old-fashioned unifying device of identical beginnings is the more astonishing since it does occur in a fragmentary mass or *Missa brevis* apparently without c.f., and since it is used in an otherwise stylistically advanced composition, whereas it does not occur in the comparatively old-fashioned complete mass cycles of the composer. Both movements appear to be completely under the spell of the new "Italian" motet style [39]: "through-imitation", polychoral writing, repetition of short phrases, chordal declamatory passages go together, following the logic and the form of the text alone.

The Kyrie opens with a "through-imitation" (the voices arranged in pairs due to the succession of their entries) of a motif which is perhaps taken from an unknown secular model; anyhow it seems to be modeled after chanson and other secular melodies. The conclusion of the first

confused with the later Italian *Missa brevis*, an extremely short and simple setting of the complete mass ordinary. On the other hand, Compère's *Missa brevis* seems to foreshadow just this mass type by virtue of its ascetic simplicity and shortness.

38 Concerning the approximate dating of this ms, cf. Jeppesen, *loc. cit.*

39 By "Italian" motet we understand (in conformity with W. Stephan, *loc. cit.*, 68-70) a motet type first appearing shortly before and after 1500 in Italian sources and characterised by short sections (more often than not following each other rather unconnectedly), tendency to closed symmetrical forms, chordal homophony together with "through-imitation", close connection with the text by means of syllabic declamation and word-painting (later to be codified as rhetorical "Figurenlehre"), tonal concentration together with obviously conscious use of the tonic-dominant tension.

Probably this motet type was developed in Italy, but mostly by Flemish composers probably under Italian influence (the nature and extent of which has not yet been investigated thoroughly). The tendency to chordal writing and the modern tonic-dominant harmony may be derived from the Italian Lauda and Frottola; lucidity and symmetry of form as well as "through-imitation" might have been imported to Italy from the north. Anyhow, the term "Italian" in this connection is not meant to indicate an indigenous Italian "invention" or origin but merely a place of birth.

Kyrie after this opening imitation is written for the full ensemble of four voices, devoid of imitation.

The Christe is built in exactly the same manner, beginning with the complete "through-imitation" of a new motif (with one extra entry in the B), ending in a free full-voice polyphonic section. Even the proportion of the two Kyrie sections is copied exactly (5 to 3 m. in the Kyrie as well as in the Christe).

The second Kyrie opens in full four-voice harmony and later begins to imitate a descending scale motif (m. 19-21). After this, two sub-sections in fauxbourdon-like technique are separated from the previous development by a pause very much like the *suspiratio* of the later "Figurenlehre" — a rhetorical device very rarely to be found in Compère's mass compositions. The latter of these sections leads to the final cadence. The length of the three Kyrie parts is almost exactly alike (8, 8 and 9 m.).

Whereas in this movement the new technique is not yet used consistently, the Gloria is accurately, even mechanically constructed according to its text. Each section is separated from its environment by musical contrasts, "through-imitation" abruptly changes to short duets (occasionally repeated on a lower or higher plane) and to chordal text-declamation of all voices in equal rhythm. Each musical motive is strictly dependent on the text, confined to a very limited ambit and showing a strong predilection for tone repetition and chordal progression in equal rhythms; melismatic invention is reduced to a minimum. By virtue of this unadorned melodic style, the complete Gloria is uncommonly short (43 m.) and not divided into the usual sections. The only part distinctly separated by a change of meter is "Cum Sancto Spiritu" which is set off as the traditional final *tripla*. A c.f. cannot be found, although the melodic movement, oscillating between g and b flat, and the psalmodic repetition of one motive (m. 6-7, 9-10, 18-19, 23-24, 25-26, 26-27, 32-34) seem to hint at a hidden Gregorian Gloria melody wandering between S and T [40].

Each section is clearly separated from its surroundings, and even overlapping of phrases is scarcely to be found. Expressive rather than formal contrasts are only used at some of the central invocations (set in massive declamatory homophony) (m. 18-23, 26-30), while the "Amen" is set off as a final climax by a sudden change to lively melismatic movement (m. 41-43).

In conformity with the unadorned lucidity of this texture, the har-

[40] The Gloria from the *Missa in festis simplicibus* (*Liber usualis,* 37) and the Ambrosian Gloria from the Antiphonale Ambrosianum (*Paléographie musicale VI,* 319) have similarly unornamental, syllabic melodies, and the psalmodic repetition of stereotyped motives is a well-known constructive element of most Gloria and Credo melodies.

monic style of the Gloria is equally clear and simple. The g-dorian "tonic" is emphasized again and again, the four-voice sections and most of the duets going to g, and but a few of the duets ending on a; the cadences are always accentuated and of structural significance. There are no deceptive or irregular cadences; everything is confined to the most typical form. The perfect cadence V-I with its typical "modern" step of the A a third down to the third of the final triad [41] is used nearly exclusively.

By its fundamentally chordal structure, its ascetic melodic and rhythmic simplicity, its strangely impersonal and even mechanical treatment of the text, the *Missa brevis* (and especially its Gloria) widely differs from everything Compère had tried previously in his masses. The new Italian technique has triumphed over the Flemish tradition. With a kind of grim determination, the composer seems to have taken the last consequences of the new style, even to the pursuance of its final mechanisation, where the promising new vista seems to have changed into barren territory. After an extreme experiment of this kind, it became a necessity to search once more for the true synthesis of traditional and new devices, Flemish counterpoint and Italian clarity of form and text-declamation.

Credo sine nomine

Although the *Credo sine nomine* differs but slightly from the *Missa brevis*, it seems to take the first step in this new direction. The dimensions have grown considerably, the form is bipartite (the second section beginning with "Et resurrexit") and further differentiated by the long closing subsection in traditional triple time ("Confiteor"). Full-voice sections are more frequent than in the Gloria, and the single phrases frequently overlap and no longer seem to follow each other unconnectedly. Chordal writing is interspersed by melismatic passages, and the short duets are set more often imitatively than chordally.

As in the Gloria, an unidentified c.f. seems to pervade the whole work — or at least the Credo text is associated in a "Gregorian" manner, as it were, with psalmodic repetition of stereotyped motives (cf. the ascending scale of the fifth, m. 1-2, 10-12, 33-34, 43-45, 54-55, 72-74) [42].

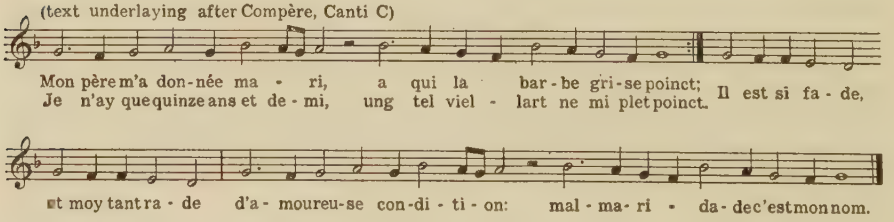
41 "*Concordantia perfecta*" is postulated by Tinctoris for beginnings and full closes (*Liber de arte contrapuncti* III, I, *CoussS* IV, 147b), but even then exceptions are permitted. Final triads seem to gain importance around 1500 especially in Italy.

42 An anonymous *Missa* in Annaberg 1 (1126), 271-284 (Kyrie to "sedet ad dexteram Patris" only) seems to be a free parody of Compère's Credo. The similarities are most obvious in the Credo, whereas they are confined to the characteristic opening motif (repeated, imitated and varied repeatedly) in the Kyrie and Gloria. Stylistically the mass is obviously of a later date than Compère's Credo.

Full-voice homorhythmic declamation is used as a means of expressive rather than of purely declamatory contrast more frequently than in the Gloria, although the technique is principally the same (m. 4-5, 26-27, 30-33, 40, 49-50, 61-68) [43]. The cadential formulas are exactly like those of the Missa brevis; tonality is even more concentrated, all the full-voice cadences leading to g and most of the duet cadences tending to g or b flat.

Thus, the close stylistic similarity to the Gloria of the *Missa brevis* is evident, but equally evident is the tendency to return from rigid simplicity to a more liberal, more flexible and linear contrapuntal style. The *Credo Mon père* seems to try another road in the same direction.

Credo Mon père

Among Compère's mass sections, the *Credo Mon père* appears to be the most mature and well-balanced composition. The one source in which it is found, Petrucci's *Fragmenta missarum* of 1505, suggests the *terminus ad quem* with regard to its dating; a much earlier date seems to be improbable for stylistic reasons. The c.f. is the chanson melody "Mon père m'a donné mari" preserved in some compositions of Compère's time [44]. The c.f. is sung twice by the tenor, nearly unchanged melodically and rhythmically but liberally interspersed with rests and repetitions of single sections, and sometimes freely augmented and "colorated" at the end of melodic divisions. The other voices participate in the c.f. equally, so that the work stands close to consistent "through-imitation". The tenor is assimilated to the other voices and can be regarded as the principal c.f. voice only by virtue of its most complete statement of the melody. The c.f., as reconstructed from its different polyphonic versions, is a tripartite melody, possibly a folk song, of simple design:

(text underlaying after Compère, Canti C)
Mon père m'a don-née ma - ri, a qui la bar-be gri-se poinct;
Je n'ay que quinze ans et de-mi, ung tel viel - lart ne mi plet poinct.
Il est si fa-de,
et moy tant ra-de d'a-moureu-se con-di-ti-on: mal-ma-ri - da-dec'est mon nom.

43 The seemingly madrigalistic illustration of "et ascendit" is instantly annulled, since the same ascending scale is repeated with "in caelum" and "sedet" (m. 43-45).

44 Isaac, chanson 4 voc. (*DTÖ* XIV/1, 96); Compère, chanson 4 voc. (Petrucci, *Canti C*, 66′-68); anonymous chanson 4 voc. (Petrucci, *Canti B*, 44′-45). Compère's Credo is using the melody version of the anonymous chanson (printed in our Compère edition, vol. I, 66 sqq.). Cf. also H. Hewitt, "Malmaridade and Meshouwet", *TVer* XVII, 1951, 181 sqq.

This formal simplicity is reflected by the construction of the whole work. Two four-voice sections frame two short duets [45], each of the framing sections carrying one complete statement of the c.f., whereas the duets are free in motif save the opening measures of the first one. In order not to obscure this form, any change of meter is avoided, and the length of the sections is as carefully and symmetrically regulated as the whole composition:

42 m.	four voices	one c.f. statement
15	two voices	nearly free from c.f. material
15	two voices	free from c.f. material
42	four voices	one c.f. statement

Moreover, the full-voice sections are connected by identically constructed opening imitations, the duets by closely related motives independent from the c.f. (cf. m. 50-51 and 60-61) and kindred lively melismatic climaxes after comparatively slow and syllabic opening sections.

As simple and lucid as the form of the complete work is the construction of its parts. "Through-imitation", full-voice free sections without imitation, free and imitatory duets succeed each other according to the disposition of the text; each section is set off by distinctive cadences, but continuous and smooth movement is secured by a subtle overlapping of phrases. The unconnected succession of short-winded contrasting sections, typical of the *Gloria sine nomine,* is skilfully avoided.

Central sections of the text are set off by musical contrasts (m. 37-39, 40-42), but the flexible and smoothly running stream of voices is nowhere stopped abruptly for the sake of declamation or interpretation of the words, the essentially linear conception of the work never being sacrificed. The four-voice homophonic sections with syllabic text-declamation (so typical of the *Gloria* and *Credo sine nomine*) are conspicuously absent here, although tone-repetitions in declamatory motives play an important part yet. The only undisputable madrigalistic device of tone painting is found in the descending scale on "descendit de caelis" (m. 33-34).

Although symmetry of the four sections is maintained with exceptional skill and determination, the last part succeeds in furnishing an impressive climax by liberal and lively melismatic extension of the last c.f. segment (m. 111-114) and its polyphonic frame after a more syllabic and slowly moving development. Moreover, interludes free from c.f. material and extended duets are scarcely used in this last part of the work; "through-imitation" of the c.f. reigns supreme, and the unity and concentration thus achieved rises far above anything attained in the preceding sections of the work.

[45] The first duet beginning with "Crucifixus", after the liturgical genuflexion.

On the other hand, the melodic style of the *Credo Mon père* suffers from a certain rigidity obviously detrimental to aesthetic perfection. Here the c.f. with its stepwise motion and its narrow, straitened motives influences even the c.f.-free sections. Though the ambit of the voices is fairly normal (ninth to tenth), it is scarcely used to its full extent. The motives (especially in the first part) keep mostly to a fourth, stepwise rising and falling in standardised formulas and *clausulae:* the opening motif of the c.f., circling around the "tonic" g and progressing in short *clausulae,* seems to be typical of the melodic style of the whole work. Greater intervals and use of the full extent of the voices is found nearly exclusively in the closing sections of the duets and in extended duets within the full-voice sections (m. 9-12, 84-85). In keeping with this strangely inhibited style, the melodic devices of sequence, octave-transposition and repetition are used more often than in any other mass composition by Compère (m. 11 B, 14-16 B, 29-32 A and B, the closing sections of the duets, and 107-108 S and B).

The harmonic style is not quite as simple as that of the *Missa brevis* and the *Credo sine nomine.* Cadences on g and d predominate, according to the basic mode which is once more g-dorian, but cadences on a are to be found not infrequently, and the first part even closes down on c. Deceptive cadences do not occur save one instance at the end of the fourth part (m. 112-113) where the deceptive cadence is used to delay and thereby to stress the final cadence of the work (similar to the function of deceptive cadences in the *Missa Alles regrets*). Among the cadential formulas the normal cadence V-I (with B leaping a fourth up or a fifth down) is predominant. Within this category, there is a marked tendency to unite the voices in fauxbourdon-like movement (m. 22-23, 112-113), and in some cases, the fauxbourdon-like cadence is expanded into the true (phrygian) fauxbourdon cadence VII^6-I (m. 16-17, 77-78, 88-89) [46].

In comparison with Compère's *Missa brevis* and *Credo sine nomine,* the *Credo Mon père* turns out to be a composition of a markedly temperate stylistic character. The most prominent features of these works — text-declamation, homophony, duet technique — have here been partly abandoned, partly turned into a new organism based on "through-imitation", endeavouring to unite linear Flemish counterpoint and Italian intensity of declamation and lucidity of form into a delicately balanced "classical" style. Whereas musical style and articulation were formerly reached by extreme contrast alone, they are now achieved by continuously flowing

46 The conflicting signatures of Compère's work (two b flats in the B as against one b flat in the other voices) are perhaps due to these and similar doubly transposed phrygian cadences. Cf. E. E. Lowinsky, 'The Function of Conflicting Signatures in Early Polyphonic Music', *MQ* 31, 1945, 227 sqq.

movement devoid of contrasts of any kind. The balance and consistency of this new style appears to be singular not only among Compère's mass compositions, but among the mass sections of Petrucci's *Fragmenta missarum* as well, especially among the Credo settings, none of which is conceived as a self-suficient unity like Compère's work and executed with similar sense of proportion — a sense of proportion which in its foreshadowing of baroque symmetry seems to have nothing equal in Josquin's time.

Compared with the other Credo settings in Petrucci's collection, Compère's Credo shows minor stylistic differences as well. "Through-imitation" of a similarly consistent type is not to be found even in Josquin's and Brumel's "modern" works, to say nothing of the compositions by Agricola, Gaspar van Weerbecke, de Orto, Regis, Fortuila and Stochem. Josquin's *Credo de vilage II* and Brumel's *Credo de vilage* [47], the most progressive works of Petrucci's collection, are similar to Compère's *Credo sine nomine* rather than to his *Credo Mon père.*

Though different and even contrasting in details, the mass fragments of Compère show some fundamental similarities, markedly different from the style of the composer's masses. A new understanding, a new musical reproduction and interpretation of the text seems to be the central artistic aim, "through-imitation", polychoral duet writing, chordal homorhythmic declamation being the principal musical means by which this aim is attained. These means are discernible to various degrees in the single compositions. Whereas the *Missa brevis* and the *Credo sine nomine* attach all weight to small sections falling into sequence with sharp contrasts, reciting and interpretating the sections of the text (and lastly falling to pieces quite disconnectedly), in the *Credo Mon père* "through-imitation", purely musical context and symmetrical form are in the foreground, while text interpretation has lost some of its importance. On the other hand this style, consistent and close-knit as it is, seems to be one-sided and scarcely versatile. There is a long way yet to go to the classical consistency, versatility and smooth synthesis of the late Josquin style.

An approximate dating of the fragments meets with no difficulty: sources and style alike point to 1500-1505 and to the chronological order suggested by the sequence taken as a working hypothesis for this chapter. On the other hand, the Milanese source leaves the possibility that *Gloria* and *Credo sine nomine* may have been composed at a considerably earlier date, perhaps in Compère's Milanese years 1474-75. — This, however,

47 The *Credo* (*Patrem*) *de vilage,* mostly to be found as a separate mass section in Josquin's time, always makes use of the Gregorian Credo I (cf. Dahlhaus, *loc. cit.,* 27 and Reese, *loc. cit.,* 32 sq.). The designation *"de vilage"* (*villayge, villaige* etc.) is obscure; perhaps there is an unknown connection with the french peasant dances called *"villages"* in the 16th century (cf. Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum III,* 7).

seems improbable for stylistic reasons, the works definitely dating from this early period (the motet cycles *loco missae,* above all) making ample use of imitation but being nearly indifferent to a more diversified and expressive handling of the text. Thus, the most likely chronology appears to be: around 1500: *Missa brevis, Credo sine nomine;* around 1505: *Credo Mon père.*

THE MANUSCRIPT EDINBURGH, NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SCOTLAND, ADV. MS. 5. 1. 15

DENIS STEVENS

For Gustave Reese on his 60th birthday

The Scone Antiphonary, unique source for the music of the greatest Scottish composer of the sixteenth century, Robert Carver, has frequently been discussed in musicological literature, and several tentative inventories have been published [1]. In view of the intrinsic musical interest of this manuscript, which contains in addition to works by Carver various compositions by Cornyshe, Dufay, Fayrfax, Lambe, and Nesbett, it may be of assistance to scholars working in the field of liturgical polyphony if a fuller description and inventory than has hitherto been attempted is presented in the following pages. Thanks are due to Mr J. S. Ritchie, Assistant Keeper of Manuscripts, National Library of Scotland, for information generously supplied to the present writer during the final stages of his compilation of this article.

The Manuscript

The Manuscript Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Adv. Ms. 5. 1. 15, otherwise known as the Scone Antiphonary, is a large choirbook similar in type and repertory to those in Eton College, Lambeth Palace, and Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. The paper leaves, 180 in number, are of Breton provenance, and their size is 38 x 27.7 cm. Frere's suggested collation was $a^{16}b^{10}c^{20}d^{20}e^{10}f^{20}g^{8}h^{22}j^{16}k^{14}l^{17}$, giving a total of 173 leaves, not 172 which is the figure stated in *Bibliotheca Musico-Liturgica*. The error resulted from allowing *O bone Jesu* only seven openings instead of eight, and consequently the foliation offered by Frere should be advanced by 1 from f. 13 onwards. It should be mentioned at this point that the manuscript was not foliated when Frere examined it during the early years of the present century, nor when the writer examined it for the first time in 1950. A typewritten inventory made by the writer in September 1950, and reproduced in many microfilm copies of the manuscript, attempted a foliation taking into account leaves that had been lost as well as those

1 *Bibliotheca Musico-Liturgica* II, p. 53 (no. 689); *Grove's Dictionary* (5th edition) VII, p. 659; *Musica Britannica* X, p. 142.

which had been stuck together. As the number of leaves missing can never be accurately computed, their fate has been wisely passed over in the official foliation of the volume, which is adopted in the present inventory. It is, however, possible to ascertain the number of pages that were stuck together[2]. They are seven in number (6/7, 15/16, 36/37, 51/52, 69/70, 108/109, 135/136) and it will be seen that when the former total of 173 is added to the 7 attached leaves, the figure of 180 corresponds with the new official foliation.

In the spring of 1957 the manuscript was taken down, repaired, and rebound in full morocco, but it was decided not to rectify a faulty sequence of folios affecting three items, since this dated back to an early stage of the manuscript's history and had been reproduced in all photographic copies made until that date. Though some may feel it a matter for regret that the opportunity was not taken to restore the original order of folios, the actual changes necessary are very slight. Folios 160 and 161 should follow f. 157 v, thus completing *Ave Dei patris filia* and supplying the left-hand page of the first opening of Carver's five-part Mass. Folio 159 should follow f. 172 v, thus completing the *Credo* and *Sanctus* of the anonymous three-part Mass. Two dates are written in the manuscript, 1513 (f. 70 v) and 1546 (f. 5 v), and if these refer to the dates of composition, as is indicated by the two inscriptions concerned, an approximate idea of the extent of Carver's career may be gathered. The first date, 1513, is clearly an error for 1509, since Carver is stated to be 22 years old when he composed the *Missa Dum sacrum mysterium*. According to the other inscription he was 59 years old in 1546 (*Missa Pater creator omnium*) and the date of his birth was therefore 1487.

The order in which the works were copied into the manuscript is clearly at variance with their dates of composition, for the 1546 Mass begins on f. 4, while Dufay's *Missa L'homme armé* is on ff. 26v-42 and Carver's 1509 Mass begins on f. 70 v. It might be argued that since one of the works near the beginning of the manuscript is dated 1546, the remainder was copied after that date. Yet there would seem to be little point in compiling a large-scale anthology of Latin church music as late as 1546, for only three years later a ban was placed on the singing of antiphons to the Virgin. There are 9 votive antiphons of this kind in the manuscript. A likely explanation is that the body of the manuscript was compiled between 1503, when Carver took orders and became a member of the Augustinian com-

[2] A photograph was taken of ff. 108/109, with a strong light on the other side, but it was not possible to identify the music of the internal pages with any degree of certainty. The handwriting resembles that of the central portion of the manuscript, though other stuck pages reveal traces of the hand that wrote the textless fragment at the top of f. 3 v.

munity of Scone Abbey, and 1520, when the renown of the four English composers — whose music appears only in the last third of the volume — was at its height. The 1546 Mass, which contains a greatly abbreviated *Gloria* and *Credo,* appears to be somewhat in the nature of a musical afterthought, and could have been added at the beginning of the manuscript by sewing in an extra gathering. In point of fact, the last folio of the 1546 Mass is stuck to the first folio of *O bone Jesu,* so that it looks as if the nineteen-part Jesus antiphon originally began the compilation.

The main portion of the manuscript, from f. 6 v to f. 178, is copied in a neat and reasonably accurate hand as regards the notes, the text being underlaid in a very firm and unaffected style of writing. A different scribe is presumably responsible for the incomplete motet (ff. 1-3), the 1546 *Missa Pater creator omnium,* and the incomplete votive antiphon *Ave gloriosa virginum regina* (ff. 178v-180v). His notes are in many cases cramped together and poorly written, and excessive abbreviations coupled with frequent carelessness make the texts difficult to decipher. It may well be that a gathering was added at a later stage and at the latter end of the manuscript, in order to balance the extra gathering sewn — and stuck — on to the beginning. The appearance of a rough and unfinished copy of two pages from *O bone Jesu* right next to the final item suggests the removal, to the end of the manuscript, of a faulty or unwanted gathering from the same scriptorium. Unfortunately it is practically impossible to reconstruct the pristine state of the manuscript as far as its physical aspect is concerned, since the recent taking-down of the volume revealed that some 45 of the folios are single sheets, separated during the course of centuries from the original bifolia. Thus the suggested collation in *Bibliotheca Musico-Liturgica* cannot now be accepted, and the complex picture presented by so many single leaves, at least ten lost leaves, and seven that remain stuck together, almost certainly precludes a convincing reconstruction. The notation thoughout is white, with the occasional use of black breves and longs denoting hemiola. The illuminated initials, in red or blue, cannot match the workmanship and artistry of those in Eton and Caius, though they are decidedly better in quality than the initials in the Lambeth choirbook. Here and there throughout the volume are rough sketches, usually in red, of faces and grimaces — probably those of the scribe's musical brethren. Fifteen of them, besides Robert Carver, signed a mandate for possession of land under freehold on November 4, 1544 [3], and it is significant that fifteen men (altos, tenors, and basses) together with four boys suffice to sing the

3 *Liber Ecclesie de Scon: Munimenta Vetustiora Monasterii Sancti Trinitatis et Sancti Michaelis de Scon* (Edinburgh, 1843) p. 206. This 'preceptum seisin' was but one of the regalities, or royal rights granted to the Abbey, by which the monks could hang or drown criminals and take charge of their forfeited property.

nineteen-part *O bone Jesu,* which Carver presumably directed. The fact that Scone Abbey was dedicated to the Holy Trinity and St Michael explains the presence of the elaborate ten-part *Missa Dum sacrum mysterium,* based on the antiphon to the Magnificat at Vespers of the Feast of St Michael.

The Contents

The Scone Antiphonary contains 24 compositions, 7 of which are defective by reason of a missing folio or folios. As the seven defective works (nos. 1, 2, 6, 16, 18, 19, 24 in the inventory) are all unica, reconstruction is possible only by conjecture. Masses and motets are present in equal number, for there are nine of each, and in addition a group of six settings of *Magnificat* appears in the central section of the manuscript. Apart from this group, a pair of *Salve regina* settings which follow, and four four-part Masses beginning on f. 16 v, the compositions seem to have been inserted in no special order. The following table shows the distribution of forms, unica being denoted by asterisks.

TABLE 1

Species	Total	Number in Inventory
Motets	9	1*, 3*, 8*, 17, 18*, 19*, 20, 21, 24*.
Masses	9	2*, 4*, 5, 6*, 7*, 9*, 10*, 22*, 23*.
Magnificats	6	11*, 12*, 13, 14*, 15, 16*.

Apart from the principal items, there are a few fragments on f. 3 v (a textless single voice-part covering four staves, a copy of the tenor part from the *Agnus Dei* of Carver's *Missa L'homme armé,* and a textless *Miserere* in cantus collateralis, à 4) and two odd pages of *O bone Jesu* on ff. 177 v and 178. The presence of Dufay's *Missa L'homme armé,* on which Carver's was modelled, is of especial interest in view of the stylistic links between French and English music in the fifteenth century, although the copying of a Dufay Mass into an English manuscript is indeed a rarity. Fragments of the *Missa Caput,* however, were discovered by Manfred Bukofzer in a Coventry Leet Book, whose flyleaves are said to be of undoubted English provenance [4], and a further important discovery in connection with the same work has shown that the *Caput* melisma was used in a *Salve regina* by Richard Hygons. This work is preserved in the Eton

[4] M. F. Bukofzer, '*Caput Redivivum:* A New Source for Dufay's *Missa Caput*' in *Journal of the American Musicological Society,* IV (1951), p. 97.

Choirbook, which has three works in common with the Scone Choirbook [5]. Carver's *Missa L'homme armé* is the only known insular example of a Mass based on a theme used by generations of continental composers. But if he valued and imitated the music of Dufay, he was also a keen collector of the best that England had to offer. The difference was that he, or the scribe concerned, had no idea who had written the English items, for no names are given; whereas he knew enough of Dufay's name to hazard a guess at the manner of its spelling, for at the end of the work, on f. 42, the words 'duffa vocatur' may be seen.

Composers

Besides Dufay, whose international eminence appears to have spread to north Britain and southern Italy, there are four English composers represented in the Scone Antiphonary: Cornyshe, Fayrfax, Lambe, and Nesbett. William Cornyshe junior was an active and important figure in court circles as well as in the Chapel Royal of Henry VII and Henry VIII [6], and his *Salve regina* is found in two isolated part-books as well as in the choirbooks of Eton and Scone. Robert Fayrfax, a colleague of Cornyshe in the Chapel Royal, and also organist and *informator chori* at St Alban's Abbey, is represented by his two best-known motets, *Eterne laudis lilium* and *Ave Dei patris filia* [7]. Walter Lambe was born at Salisbury in 1451, became King's scholar at Eton in 1467, and was subsequently made Master of the Choristers at St George's, Windsor [8]. Nothing is known of Nesbett's career, and although he may never have occupied a loftier post than that of a singer or lay clerk, his compositions display no mean talent [9]. Carver, as stated above, was born in 1487, and the only two dates throwing light on his later career are those of his signature on the deed of 1544 and his *Missa Pater creator omnium* of 1546. He spells his name 'Robertus Carwor' in both the deed and the choirbook, and at times this is expanded, as in the signature to *O bone Jesu,* to include an additional name and his ecclesiastical title: 'Dominus Robertus Carwor alias Arnat canonicus Scone'. Documents reprinted in the *Register of the Great Seal of Scotland* mention various people named Robert Arnat or Arnot, and the name is also found

5 For a discussion of the music of Hygons and the English use of tropes in *Salve regina,* see F. Ll. Harrison, 'An English "Caput" ' in *Music and Letters,* XXXIII (1952), p. 203.

6 See *Grove's Dictionary* (5th edition) II, p. 452; also Denis Stevens, 'William Cornyshe: a Tudor Composer' in *The Listener* no. 1348 (Dec. 30, 1954), p. 1105.

7 For a comprehensive account of Fayrfax's life see the article by Edwin B. Warren in *Musica Disciplina* XI (1957), p. 152.

8 For further material on Lambe see the article by Gilbert Reaney in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* VIII (1959), 119.

9 Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain,* p. 415.

in the Exchequer Rolls and the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer. No certain link can be discovered, however, between these references and the composer Robert Carver. His surname, spelt Carvour[e], Carwour, Kervour, or Carwar, may also be seen frequently in the lists of names supplied by the Exchequer Rolls of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century.

Scone Abbey, which had originally been peopled by monks from Pontefract, was one of 33 Scottish houses occupied by Austin canons, or by the Premonstratensians who constituted a stricter and reformed branch of the order. Holyrood, Jedburgh, and Inchcolm were among the more important establishments, and Scone (which had possessions in Caithness) was not only powerful but also wealthy. Since Innocent IV had granted 40 days' pardon to all who worshipped and gave offerings at the Abbey on the anniversary of its dedication, it may readily be appreciated that one of Carver's first tasks as a composer of liturgical polyphony was the writing of a Mass for this occasion, which doubtless continued in importance until the time of the Reformation. The treasures and manuscripts of the abbey, when dispersed, called forth tribute upon tribute from collectors who appreciated their true worth, and it is not surprising to find a German antiquary of the sixteenth century maintaining 'that neither Germany, Italy, nor Denmark can boast of such manuscripts as are to be found at Scone, Cambuskenneth, Edinburgh, and St Andrews' [10].

Concordances

So far no music by Carver has been found in manuscripts known to have been written in England, and this fact, taken together with the presence of English and continental music in the Scone Choirbook, might be regarded as an indication of strictly one-way traffic in the matter of musical culture. Robert Johnson's music was known and sung in England, but perhaps only after he had fled south of the border. What the concordances between the Scone and other manuscripts reveal is that distance was no object when it was a question of assembling a first-class repertoire, and if the conveyance of a heavy choirbook presented problems there was always the possibility of copying items from sets of easily portable part-books. The following table shows the number of concordances with other sources written between the middle of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth.

10 Cited by J. H. Baxter in *Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree* (Oxford, 1930), p. xxix.

TABLE 2

Source	Number of Concordances	Inventory number
B	1	21
C	2	20, 21
Che	1	21
E	3	13, 15, 17
L	1	20
P	2	20, 21
S	1	21
14	1	5
49	1	5
354	1	21
979	1	21
1464	2	20, 21
1469	1	21
1709	2	17, 21
34191	1	17

Liturgical Aspects of the Collection

Certain aspects of the music contained in the Scone Antiphonary throw light on the background and nature of this great collection, and one of the most important is the liturgical aspect. It is especially interesting to note that the texts of some of the motets or votive antiphons are not only peculiar to this source in their polyphonic setting; they are even unique in points of structure and detail. *O bone Jesu* was a well-known devotional text and was frequently set to music in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but no text so far discovered has surpassed Carver's in length and complexity [11]. It was presumably compiled for the express use of the community at Scone Abbey for their celebrations of the Feast of the Name of Jesus. Again, the text of the incomplete six-part work with which the collection opens has no apparent kinship with any similar one [12]. It is a pity that the first page, or perhaps two pages (for one would expect a set of illuminated initials to mark the beginning) were lost before the complete text could be transcribed. All that now remains is the following, which suggests a litany with a possibly local peculiarity in the use of the first person singular [13].

11 The text, with comparative versions from other manuscripts, is printed in *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 16 — Robert Carver: Opera omnia,* I, p. iii.

12 There are motets beginning *Sancti martires* in London, British Museum Add. Mss 30361-6 and 30810-15, and a faintly similar text for All Saints' Day by Hesdin, in *Treize Livres de motets parus chez Pierre Attaingnant en 1534 et 1535* (ed. A. Smijers), III, p. 155.

13 The same proclivity is noticeable in the text of *O bone Jesu* as set by Carver.

> Vos quoque sancti patriarche et prophete poscite [optine, *Medius & Bassus*] michi a deo indulgentiam penitenciam contenenciam scientiam perseveranciam atque vitam eternam. O beati apostoli dei solvite me a peccatis defendite me a penes inferni et de potestate tenebrarum eripite me et ad regnum eternum me perducite. Vos precor sancti martires ut detur michi a deo charitas sancta pax sincera mens pura vita casta peccatorum remissio. O gloriosi confessores dei orate pro me ad dominum jesum christum ut per merita vestra me perducat ad celestiam regnam. Et vos omnes sancti virgines dei subvenite michi peccatori et orate pro me ad deum omnipotentem ut concedatur michi gratia in presenti et in futuro societas eterni beatitudinis. O vos omnes sancti et sancte dei vos deprecor quoque et supplico subvenite michi miserimo peccatori misericorditer et orate pro me instanter ut per vostram intercessionem tribuatur michi a deo remissionem peccatorum quatenus per merita vestra pervenire valeam ad eternam beatitudinis patriam amen.

It is possible that this solemn, sonorous, and penitential composition was reserved for a litany preceding the penitence and absolution of those who came to the Abbey seeking the 40 days' pardon. The dedication feast is mentioned in connection with such a ceremony on the visit of a certain David Cumyn of Culty [14].

At the very end of the collection is a fine setting of the votive antiphon or sequence *Ave gloriosa virginum regina,* which unfortunately lacks the last two pages. It ends with the words 'tu lumen veritatis tu luna pravitatis'. This text, which has been ascribed to Philip the Chancellor, was apparently much prized in the northern part of England and in Scotland. No polyphonic settings of it have been discovered in southern English sources. It may be seen in a book of hymns and prayers probably written at Durham in the fourteenth century [15] and it is also referred to frequently in Scottish documents. The *Register of the Collegiate Church of Craill* contains a directive for the organist, whose duty it was to play 'according to usage, in the college kirk, in his habit, in the quire, at daily matins, the Lord's Mass, *Ave gloriosa,* high Mass, and vespers'. This was in 1522. In Aberdeen, an agreement dated 1537 bound Alexander Kyd to give a rental of forty shillings a year, and for this sum the master of the song school at Aberdeen Cathedral, William Myrtone, undertook to train six choirboys so that they might sing *Ave gloriosa* in polyphony on important feasts. In

14 *Liber Ecclesie de Scon,* p. 183.

15 London, British Museum, Royal 7 A VI, f. 110 v. The flyleaves are part of a

the event of the boys being absent through illness their place was to be taken by six vicars choral [16].

Gaude flore virginali, although not specifically Scottish, seems to be one of those poems in honour of the Virgin that were set almost exclusively by British composers. On the basis of textual variants and musical style, a fairly convincing case could be made for attributing to English composers various anonymous settings found in continental sources, especially the Trent codices. A manuscript in Munich goes so far as to claim that the text was composed by St Thomas of Canterbury [17]. On the other hand, *Anima mea liquefacta est* does not seem to have been set by insular composers much later than the time of Leonel Power. Perhaps the reason was that processional polyphony was improvised rather than sung from books, or that plainsong came to be preferred as the fifteenth century drew to its close. *Anima mea* is prescribed as the third of a series of antiphons to be sung before High Mass on Sundays, at the procession *in redeundo,* week by week between the Assumption and the Nativity of the Virgin, that is between August 15 and September 8. The four antiphons provided for these four Sundays were *Tota pulchra es, Ascendit Christus, Anima mea,* and *Descendi in ortum meum.* Besides the anonymous *Anima mea* in the Scone choirbook, there is also a setting of *Descendi in ortum meum,* likewise anonymous, in a slightly later Scottish source, the Wood part-books [18].

Even the unique and anonymous four-part *Salve regina* has an unusual, and therefore possibly local feature, for it contains five verses of the trope instead of the more usual three or four. Between 'Funde preces' and 'Dele culpas' the following verse is set:

Gloriosa dei mater
cujus natus extat pater
ora pro nobis omnibus
qui tui memoriam agimus
O felix [19].

In addition, the usual acclamation at the end is troped. Most of the polyphonic settings of *Salve regina* end with the words 'O dulcis Maria, salve', but the Scone version has 'O benigna, O clemens, O pia, *O dulcis* et

rental and roll of amercements of the halimoot of the prior of Durham in 1353, and the volume belonged at one time to an Archdeacon of Durham named John Pilkington. The tenor part only of a mensural *Salve regina* is written on ff. 35v/36.

16 *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis* (1845), II p. 412. Cited by Harrison in *Music in Medieval Britain,* pp. 176, 184.

17 F. J. Mone, *Hymni Latini Medii Aevi,* II p. 177.

18 Reprinted in *Musica Britannica XV — Music of Scotland, 1500-1700,* p. 103.

19 For the complete text of six verses see *Analecta Hymnica,* XXXIII, p. 57.

gloriosa virgo *Maria Salve*'. This tendency is once again in accordance with the greatly enlarged and extended text of *O bone Jesu*. The six settings of *Magnificat* are normal, but the two concordances with Eton suggest that if the many lost settings in that choirbook ever came to light, further links between southern and northern sources might be established. Table 3 indicates liturgical occasions and sources of texts.

TABLE 3

No.	Title	Type of text	Liturgical form	Textual references
1	*Vos quoque sancti patriarche*	Prose	Litany	(*supra*, p. 162)
3	*O bone Jesu*	Prose	Votive antiphon, Name of Jesus	CMM 16, p. iii
8	*Gaude flore virginali*	Verse	Votive antiphon, B.V.M.	RH 6809; AH xxxi, p. 198; Mone ii, p. 176
17, 18	*Salve regina*	Mixed	Votive antiphon, B.V.M.	AH xxxiii, p. 57; Mone ii, p. 214
19	*Anima mea*	Prose	Processional antiphon, B.V.M.	SM p. 173 (*Song of Solomon*, v, 6-8)
20	*Eterne laudis lilium*	Verse	Votive antiphon, B.V.M. Annunciation	—
21	*Ave Dei patris filia*	Mixed	Votive antiphon, B.V.M.	TCM VI, p. xxxv
24	*Ave gloriosa*	Verse	Votive antiphon or Sequence, B.V.M.	RH 1828

The texts of the nine Masses are interesting in view of the tropes used and the omissions in Gloria and Credo. Troped Kyries are also much shortened. Carver's *Missa Pater creator omnium* is based on a Hereford variant of the trope *Deus creator omnium* whose proper plainsong can be used for the missing tenor. Only the first three invocations are set in polyphony. Both Gloria and Credo are much truncated, so much so in fact that what is left can only be described as a shell. The anonymous three-part Mass, which is mistakenly said to have been based on 'Westron Wynde' [20] uses a different technique, for the Gloria and Credo simply come to a halt after 'Agnus Dei filius patris' and 'Deum verum de Deo vero' respectively. Three lines are omitted from the trope *Rex virginum amator*, which in its plainsong form was sung to the same music as *Cunctipotens*

20 H. G. Farmer, *A History of Music in Scotland*, p. 109. While the first motive of the Kyrie does recall the first few notes of 'Westron Wynde', there is no further resemblance, and certainly no attempt to build the Mass on a cantus firmus as Taverner, Tye, and Shepherd did.

genitor. The use of *Rex virginum amator* for feasts of the Virgin is confirmed by several early English sources [21], but it cannot be considered as exclusively insular since there is a Mass using the same trope by an early sixteenth-century Spanish composer, Juan de Anchieta [22]. An earlier Spanish source containing this trope is the Codex Las Huelgas, and a still earlier — and possibly Scottish — source is W_1, whose final fascicles, rich in polyphonic tropes, have long been considered as of insular origin. The Credo of this cyclic Mass (Scone, no. 4) has three unusual omissions, not corresponding with any of those listed by Dom Anselm Hughes in his useful preliminary study [23].

Carver's *Missa L'homme armé* also has an unusually incomplete Credo, while the anonymous but almost certainly insular *Missa Deus creator omnium* omits four passages from the Credo, beginning as early as 'Deum verum, de Deo vero'. The last two omissions correspond approximately to Hughes's type 8 (Appleby, Ashwell, Fayrfax, Shepherd, Taverner, Lloyd), whereas Carver's six-part and ten-part Masses correspond exactly to it, by omitting the section 'Et in spiritum sanctum . . . remissionem peccatorum'. A slightly larger omission in Carver's five-part Mass agrees with those of Hughe's type 4 (Alwood, Burton, Shepherd, Tallis, Taverner, Tye). Whatever the explanation for these omissions — and it appears most likely that the reason was closely connected with the timing of the liturgy — their importance for stylistic analysis and identification purposes may one day prove to be considerable.

WORKS CITED IN THE PRESENT INVENTORY

AmbrosG	Ambros, A. W., *Geschichte der Musik,* 3rd edition, 1887-1911. 5 vols.
AH	*Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi,* ed. G. M. Dreves, C. Blume and H. Bannister, 1886-1922. 55 vols.
CMM 1	*Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 1 — Guglielmi Dufay: Opera omnia,* ed. G. de Van & H. Besseler, 1948-.
CMM 16	*Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 16 — Robert Carver: Opera omnia,* ed. D. Stevens, 1959-.
Farmer	Farmer, H. G., *A History of Music in Scotland,* 1948.
FullerY	Fuller-Maitland, J. A. (ed.) *O bone Jesu,* by Robert Carver. The Year-Book Press, 1926.

21 W. H. Frere, *The Use of Sarum,* II p. 207; J. Wickham Legg, *The Sarum Missal,* p. 4.

22 *Monumentos de la Música Española I — La Música en la Corte de los Reyes Católicos: Polifonia religiosa I* (ed. H. Anglés).

23 See the appendix to the Introduction, 'The Text-Omissions in the Creed', at p. xxxiii of *Missa "O Quam Suavis"* (ed. H. B. Collins). Further information is contained in the article by Ruth Hannas, 'Concerning Deletions in the Polyphonic Mass Credo' in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* V (1952), p. 155.

HAM	*Historical Anthology of Music,* edited by A. Davison and W. Apel, 2nd edition (of volume 1) 1949.
HarrisonM	Harrison, F. Ll., *Music in Medieval Britain,* 1958.
Mone	Mone, F. J., *Hymni Latini Medii Aevi,* 1853.
MB X-XII	*Musica Britannica X-XII — The Eton Manuscript,* ed. F. Ll. Harrison, 1956-.
MB XV	*Musica Britannica XV — Music of Scotland 1500-1700,* ed. Kenneth Elliott, song-texts ed. Helena Mennie Shire, 1957.
MPLSER	*Monumenta Polyphoniae Liturgicae Sanctae Ecclesiae Romanae,* ed. L. Feininger, 1947-.
RH	*Repertorium Hymnologicum,* ed. U. Chevalier, 1892-1921. 5 vols.
SM	*The Sarum Missal,* ed. J. Wickham Legg, 1916.
TCM VI	*Tudor Church Music VI — Thomas Tallis,* 1928.

MANUSCRIPTS CITED AND THEIR SIGNATURES

B	London, British Museum RM 24. d. 2 (The Baldwin Manuscript); choirbook 24.
C	Cambridge, University Library Dd. 13. 27 (contratenor) and St John's College 234, *olim* K 31 (bass); two part-books from the same set.
Che	Chelmsford, Essex Record Office, Petre Mss D/P 2; bass part-book. Inventory by E. H. Fellowes in *Tudor Church Music,* Appendix, p. 7.
E	Eton, Library of Eton College, Ms 178; choirbook. Inventory by F. Ll. Harrison in *Annales Musicologiques* I (1953), p. 169.
L	London, Lambeth Palace Library, Ms 1; choirbook. Provisional list in MB X, p. 152.
P	Cambridge, Peterhouse, Mss 31, 32, 40, 41; partbooks, lacking tenor. Inventory by Dom Anselm Hughes in *Catalogue of the Musical Manuscripts at Peterhouse, Cambridge,* p. 2.
S	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms Mus. Sch. e 1-5 (Sadler Mss); part-books.
14	Rome, Vatican City, Sistine Codex 14.
49	Rome, Vatican City, Sistine Codex 49.
354	Tenbury, St Michael's College, Mss 354-8; part-books. Inventory by E. H. Fellowes in *The Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of St Michael's College, Tenbury.*
979	Oxford, Christ Church Mss 979-983; part-books, lacking tenor.
1464	Tenbury, St Michael's College, Ms 1464. Inventory by E. H. Fellowes in *Tudor Church Music,* Appendix, p. 8.
1469	Tenbury, St Michael's College, Mss 1469-1471; partbooks (treble, medius and bass only). Inventory by E. H. Fellowes in *The Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of St Michael's College, Tenbury.*
1709	London, British Museum, Harley Ms 1709; part-book. Provisional list in Hughes-Hughes, *Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum,* I, pp. 266, 456.
34191	London, British Museum, Add. Ms 34191; part-book. Provisional list in Hughes-Hughes, *op. cit.,* I, pp. 212, 261.

24 There is also music in score form in the earlier part of the volume.

No.	Folio	Title	Voices	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
1	1 3v	Vos quoque sancti patriarche (fragments)	6	—	—	lacks one or two folios at beginning. 1) textless treble part; 2) Agnus Dei (tenor) from Carver no. 7; 3) Miserere à 4 (?).
2	4	Missa Pater creator omnium	4	Carver	—	Dated 1546; lacks one folio at beginning. The Benedictus is troped 'Marie filius'.
3	6v	O bone Jesu	19	Carver	*infra*, f. 177v	Edn. CMM 16, p. 1; MB XV, p. 87; FullerY.
4	16v	Missa Rex virginum amator	4	—	—	Edn. MB XV, p. 9.
5	26v	Missa L'homme armé	4	[Dufay]	*49*, f. 34v-54; *14*, f. 99v-103	Edn. CMM 1, iii, p. 33; MPLSER, Ser. 1, I, no. 1; AmbrosG II, p. 556 (Kyrie); HAM I, p. 71 (Kyrie I and Agnus III).
6	42v	Missa Deus creator omnium	4	—	—	Lacks second leaf.
7	52v	Missa L'homme armé	4	Carver	—	Edn. MB XV, p. 30; Facs. MB XV, p. xxiv.
8	66v	Gaude flore virginali	5	Carver	—	Edn. CMM 16, p. 21. Text, AH xxxi, p. 198; Mone ii, p. 176.
9	70v	Missa Dum sacrum mysterium	10	Carver	—	Dated 1513 (*recte* 1509). *Facs.* Farmer pl. V. For the Feast of St Michael.
10	96v	Missa sine nomine	6	Carver	—	
11	109v	Magnificat	5	—	—	
12	114v	Magnificat	4	—	—	
13	119v	Magnificat	5	[Nesbett]	*E*, f. 124	Edn. MB XII, p. 000.
14	123v	Magnificat	4	—	—	
15	127v	Magnificat	5	[Lambe]	*E*, f. 129v-131	Edn. MB XII, p. 000.
16	132v	Magnificat	5	—	—	Lacks one folio between f. 134 and 135.
17	136v	Salve regina	5	[Cornyshe]	*E*, f. 43v-45; *1709*, f. 51v-53; *34191*, f. 17	Edn. MB X, p. 116; Facs. HarrisonM pl. XV; Text of tropes, AH xxxiii, p. 57; Mone ii, p. 214.
18	141v	Salve regina	4	—	—	Lacks one folio at end; in last initial of superius is written 'Magister Andreas H'.
19	150	Anima mea liquefacta est	5	—	—	Lacks one folio at beginning. Text, SM p. 173 (Song of Solomon, v, 6-8).
20	151v	Eterne laudis lilium	5	[Fayrfax]	*L*, f. 56v-59; *P*; *C*; *1464*, f. 16-17	Probably the motet composed in 1502 for Elizabeth of York.
21	155v	Ave Dei patris filia	5	[Fayrfax]	*B*, 155v, 156v; *P*; *C*; *S*; *Che* f. 2-3; *354*; *979*; *1464*, f. 28; *1469*; *1709*, f. 33	Attributed in some sources to the Scottish composer Robert Johnson, but definitely the work of Fayrfax. Text, TCM VI, p. xxxv.
22	161v	Missa sine nomine	5	Carver	—	Shown as anonymous in Harrison's list in MB XI, p. 177; Carver's name occurs on one of the misplaced folios, f. 158.
23	170v	Missa sine nomine	3	—	—	Edn. MB XV, p. 1.
	177v	O bone Jesu (fragment)	19	Carver	*supra*, f. 6v	Two pages of no. 3.
24	178v	Ave gloriosa virginum regina	5	—	—	RH 1828. Lacks one or two folios at end.

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY SONGS AND LYRICS IN EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY LIBRARY MUSIC MS. Dc. 1. 69

JOHN P. CUTTS

This manuscript has almost entirely [1] escaped attention from present day musicologists, and even though it cannot possibly have been unknown to that indefatigable musicologist of last century, Edward Francis Rimbault whose hand I have been able to trace in the annotations and comments scattered throughout the manuscript, Rimbault not so much as once referred to it, as far as I am able to ascertain, in any of his frequent mentions of MSS either known to him or in his personal collection [2]. To all practical intents and purposes, therefore, the manuscript has remained unknown. It was only after my persistent enquiry that C. P. Finlayson, Keeper of the Manuscripts, remembered that there was a "book" of "songs of Shakespeare's day" shelved quite separately from the music MSS which had been thoroughly combed by Cambridge musicologists [3]. I owe much to Finlayson's kindness in this particular respect for my coming across yet another seventeenth-century music manuscript and for permission to have a complete microfilm of it. It is to Finlayson that I am also indebted for the library's information regarding the provenance of the MS.

The manuscript does not appear in a scroll catalogue of the MSS in Edinburg University Library which was compiled about 1834 so presumably it was acquired after that date. The Library archives for the Nineteenth Century are not sufficiently detailed to afford helpful information in this case. "It is recorded for instance that books were bought from the Libraries of Principal John Lee and of George Chalmers in 1842, but the volumes are not listed. I thought that the pencil writing on p. 4 of the MS might have been by Chalmers but in the printed sale catalogues by Evans, London, 1842, no folio music book is listed among his MSS" [4].

1 I published in 1955 information concerning two leaves of MS music which I had discovered in Birmingham City Public Library without knowledge then that they had originally belonged to the Edinburgh MS. See *Infra.*

2 I have at last traced *all* the MSS to which Rimbault referred. Earl Ferrer's MS. eluded me longest. Their existence considerably vindicates Rimbault who is often impugned as unauthoritative.

3 The Library had been descended upon in 1954. I visited the Library in January 1955.

4 Private letter dated October 6th, 1958.

There is very little that is definite in this but I have found the two dates [5] very helpful.

On close examination of the MS it is now possible to fill in some of the historical picture of the manuscript's provenance and to assess its importance to musicologists and students of seventeenth-century songs and lyrics.

This collection is particularly interesting because it contains settings of dramatic and semi-dramatic songs which do not occur elsewhere. Here at last is a complete musical score of a seventeenth-century Wake, the Witney Wake, the words by Martin Llewellyn; a complete setting of a funeral elegy on Charles I; a setting of Donne's "Apparition" — "When by thy scorn foule murdress I am dead", and a setting of yet another song by William Lawes for Shirley's Masque *The Triumph of Peace,* 1633, thus bringing this composer's share of the music in the Masque to an even larger predominance over his brother Henry's.

Dc. 1. 69 as it stands at present contains the Treble and Bass versions of 66 [6] of the items printed in *Cheerfull Ayres,* (Oxford, 1659-1660), which fact alone would seem to indicate that its early history is in some way connected with that of *Cheerfull Ayres* and with that of John Wilson its editor and part author-composer. Dc. 1. 69 is even more closely linked to *Cheerfull Ayres* than is Bodleian MS. Mus. b. 1 [7], a collection of John Wilson's songs notable for containing 49 of those he had printed in *Cheerfull Ayres,* by its inclusion of a list of contents arranged by key signature — one of the chief features of the printed book.

Further evidence links Dc. 1. 69 with the Oxford circle [8] of which John Wilson, Professor of Music at the University, 1644-1662, was one of the most celebrated musicians. The handwriting of the manuscript (and one hand is responsible for it, other hands being detectable only in the prefatory leaves and in interspersed comments) is the same as that of B.M. Add. MS. 29396 (purchased 24 April 1873 from Putticks), one especially notable feature being the idiosyncrasy of the letter "K" which is almost invariably elevated to the status of a capital letter, initially, medially and terminally. It is highly significant that the writer of Add. MS. 29396 is Edward Lowe, organist at Christ Church, Oxford, and deputy and then successor to Wilson as Professor of Music at the University 1662-1682. His initials appear on

5 See *Infra.*

6 One more "Deare give mee a thousand kisses" is listed in the Index for p. 115 but is no longer present in the MS.

7 cf. Cutts, John P., "Seventeenth-Century Lyrics. Oxford, Bodleian, MS. Mus. b. 1.", *Musica Disciplina,* 1956, X. 142-209.

8 cf. Clark, A., ed., *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, antiquary of Oxford, 1632-1695, described by himself,* (Oxford, 1891), I. 204, 205, 257 passim.

f. 100 after the comments "This part I added" and "I sett an upper part to it the 27th of January 1654": his signature appears on the front fly leaf where a following date used to be read but it has been obliterated save the last figure which is a 5 [9]. The initials "E.L." appear on f. 113 of Dc. 1. 69.

But for a fortunate piece of literary-musical serendipity the description of the history of the manuscript would probably end here. I have discovered, however, the whereabouts of three of the missing leaves from Dc. l. 69. Birmingham City Reference Library has an extraordinary manuscript designated as MS. 57316 [10] and catalogued as "Music for The Tempest 1676". It consists of one folio leaf of music paginated 87 and 88 and bears the Treble and Bass versions of Robert Johnson's "ffůll fathome fiue" and "Wher y^{e} Bee", both ascribed. Another leaf bound with it and also written in Edward Lowe's hand contains "[4] ⌜3⌝ stanza's [sic] more to Wher the Bee Sucks page 88" and the comment "thes supposed to bee made by Mr. Smith secretary to the Archbishop of Canterbury". On the left-hand side of this second leaf at the foot and close to the Robert Johnson ascription of "Where y^{e} Bee" occurs the note "this I had of Madam Trumball at Chalfont 27 Sept. 1676". A modern hand has added "J. Wilson's name in the printed copy to it" at the head of page 87 and "the same name to it in the printed copy" and "See p. 88. R. Johnson" at the foot of page 88.

There can be no doubt that MS. 57316 does in fact belong to Dc. 1. 69, the numbers 87 and 88 and their contents correspond exactly. The extra leaf in being unnumbered conforms to the manuscript practice not to number separate sheets which are devoted entirely to extra verses. Obviously the extra leaf did not follow immediately on 88 in the original manuscript because in that case its cross reference would have been unnecessary. I think it was included at the very end of the manuscript close to item 115, f. 115v "Seest thou that fountaine" which also bears a reference number back to 126 "Since Love hath brought thee", item 74. f. 70v. What would seem to confirm this suggestion is the fact that the watermark for f. 115v is the same as for the extra leaf of verses to "Where y^{e} Bee" — a cardinal's hat, whereas the rest of the MS has a watermark with initials PD and VB. Since therefore the whole of MS. 57316 belongs to Dc. 169 it is pertinent to examine Lowe's notes on the former to see if they throw light on the general provenance of the whole now assembled manuscript.

Madame Trumball, Chalfont, September 27, 1676, Mr. Smith Secre-

9 Hence the B.M. *Catalogue* date of c. 1655-1675. There can be no doubt that Lowe added items at different times, though the bulk of the MS. belongs to the earlier date.

10 First reported by me in "Robert Johnson: King's Musician in His Majesty's Public Entertainment", *Music & Letters,* April 1955, XXXVI. 2. 110-125.

tary to the Archbishop of Canterbury — a fine nest of clues to the early provenance of the manuscript, but terribly evasive ones. Chalfont St. Giles provided Milton with a retreat from the London plague in 1665 and interesting as it would be to find some connection between Milton and Madame Trumball the records do not oblige [11]. What may, however, be significant are two records for Dec. 2nd, 1675 in the *Calendar of Domestic State Papers 1675-1676:* — "Dr. Smith has the canonry, Mr. Trumball the parsonage of Witney, and St. Cross is kept in *commendam* two or three years" — "Whitehall. Presentation of Ralph Trumball, M.A., to the rectory and vicarage of Witney, Oxfordshire, void by the translation of the Bishop of Oxford to London."

It may, of course, be a complete coincidence that the date 1675, the names Smith and Trumball and the connection with the Church suggest relevance for our present concern. The startling thing is the mention of Witney! MS. Dc. 1. 69 contains the full setting of Martin Llewellyn's "Witney Wake" [12]. Edward Lowe, Dr. Smith and Ralph Trumball were thus near neighbours. I do not as yet see how Chalfont fits into this picture, but the main thing to be gathered from all this is the possible further connection with prominent Oxford people and the significance of the date as a possible terminal [13] one for the whole reconstituted manuscript.

How these three newly discovered leaves came to be separated from the original manuscript presents a complicated but not entirely unsolvable problem. It is highly significant that other leaves missing from the MS, paginated 115-118 are concerned with the only other Shakespearean item, "Lawn as white" which is given in the index for page 116. Since the index lists no item at all for page 117 I think the correct inference is that the writing out of "Lawn as white" spanned both pages 116 and 117. Thus in order to extract the item "Lawn as white" pages 115-118 would have to be torn out, that is folio 67 "Deare give me a thousand kisses" with this item possibly stretching over to folio 67v where "Lawn as white" certainly began; folio 68 the continuation of "Lawn as white" with "Tell me wher" on the reverse of folio 68. Thus it would seem that a Shakespeare enthusiast removed the two *Tempest* songs along with the leaf of extra verses and that these henceforth were fixed together in some way and eventually found their way into the manuscript collection of Birmingham City Reference

11 Milton's father was a musician and might have had access to collections of MS. Songs.

12 It is quite feasible that Edward Lowe could know of Llewellyn's "Witney Wake" without the Trumball association.

13 I think most of the manuscript was written out in the 1650s and that the last few items were added at a later date.

Library. What happened to the other extraction "Lawn as white" is as yet a complete mystery to me.

This tearing out of leaves of Shakespearean interest from a manuscript song book is not an isolated case. It is quite clear, for instance, that the one Shakespearean item "Take o take those lipps away" originally included at f. 19v as no. 21 in the collection of songs, now known as B.M. Add. MS. 29481, has been extracted. Since this manuscript was purchased at Putticks on June 30, 1873, it is reasonable to assume that the Shakespearean item had been torn out previous to that date, but by whom?

The annotations on 57316 may be a help in pointing to the Shakespearean enthusiast. They take care to make it clear that whilst Robert Johnson's name is ascribed on the MS. to both songs it is John Wilson's name which appears in the printed copy, which is presumably *Cheerfull Ayres*. But this information is misleading since Robert Johnson is accredited in Book I of *Cheerfull Ayres* with the two *Tempest* songs and John Wilson's name is attached to the extra inner part, the Cantus Secundus, of the music only [14]. What makes it look as if the information is *deliberately* misleading is the fact that certain advocates of the theory that John Wilson was the "Jack Wilson" of the *Much Ado* stage direction have tried to show that Wilson thus early associated with music in Shakespeare's plays was actually the composer of *The Tempest* and *The Winter's Tale* music that has survived in *Cheerfull Ayres*. The annotations in Dc. 1. 69 plead this very case, which has long been associated with two Shakespearean enthusiasts, Edward Francis Rimbault [15] and John Payne Collier [16]. It may be very important to realize that Collier's publication is dated a year earlier than Rimbault's [17].

Further evidence points to Rimbault having seen the manuscript and having made annotations thereon. Rimbault's library was sold by auction in July 1877 and certain items were bought for America, passed to the Drexel collection and eventually reposed in the New York Public Library [18]. One of the MSS., namely Drexel 4257, "John Gamble's Commonplace Book" is especially interesting for the evidence it provides us now of

14 cf. Cutts *op. cit.*

15 Rimbault, E. F., *Who was Jack Wilson?* (London, 1846).

16 Collier, J. P., "John Wilson, the Singer, in 'Much Ado about Nothing', a musical composer in Shakespeare's Plays", *The Shakespeare Society Papers* 27 May 1845, II. 33-36. Collier speaks of information "reaching" him which would seem to imply that someone told him about the identification of Jack Wilson. This information might have stemmed from Rimbault.

17 Collier's reputation according to recent investigations (*Notes & Queries* 1050-7) into his "discoveries" would certainly allow for his "fitting" information into his theories.

18 cf. Cutts, John P., "Original Music to Middleton's *The Witch,* and *Macbeth*" *Shakespeare Quarterly,* Spring 1956, VII. 2. 203-209 for details of the sale MSS.

Rimbault's authorship of the annotations on Dc. 1. 69. At the head of many pieces in Drexel 4257 occurs the letter "p" [19] which stands for "printed", each item bearing this sign had indeed been printed (usually in *Cheerfull Ayres*): in Dc. 1. 69 the sign "p" is used frequently; occasionally it is expanded to "pr" and to the full "printed". The vast majority of pieces so marked in both MSS had indeed been printed in *Cheerfull Ayres* [20], with which Rimbault was most familiar. The annotations on a prefatory leaf of Dc. 1. 69 are in two hands: one remarks that "A number of the pieces in this volume composed by Dr. Wilson are the original music to Shakespeare's plays" in corroboration of which another hand has written "In Much Ado (Folio ed. 1623) there is a stage / direction to Sigh no more: / Enter the Prince Leonato Claudio and Jack Wilson / the singer". The first is the same broad cursive hand that wrote the annotations on 57316 and is, I think, Rimbault's [21]. The second, a neater and more precise hand, has also added instructions about the MS — "for starred numbers see the end of this Book" — and "Songs by / J. Wilson / W. Lawes / R. Johnson 91 / Mr. Bowman 189" — which seems to me very like the work of a library cataloguer.

The manuscript could not have belonged to Rimbault, otherwise it would have been included in the sale of his library with other MSS. Presumably he had access to it as easily as to Earl Ferrers' MS and was probably consulted about it in much the same way as Thomas Oliphant [22], BM. cataloguer of manuscript and printed music 1841-50, was consulted by the owner of the manuscript which eventually became known as Dx. 4175 and was sold as part of Rimbault's library in 1877. One possible way of arriving at a workable date at which MS. Dc. 1. 69 may have left private hands eventually to be added to the Edinburgh University Library collection is to note the times at which MSS. 57316 and 29396 (the Lowe MSS.) were eventually deposited in public libraries. MS. 57316 was

19 This puzzled Duckles, Vincent, *John Gamble's Commonplace Book,* (University of California unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, 1 August 1953) who could offer no explanation.

20 Rimbault failed to recognize, however, that the piece "The Larke forsakes her wat'ry nest" Dc. 1. 69. ff 86-87 had also been printed in *Cheerfull Ayres* most probably due to the fact that its printed title is "Awake Awake the Morn will never rise".

21 Both Rimbault and Collier had easy access to this manuscript, and probably by this means they came to "agree" about their theory of who Jack Wilson was.

22 The letter is pasted onto a prefatory leaf of the MS. It was addressed from "36 Gt. Marboro St./18 June/ — My dear Sir, ... I have inserted a few little memorandums which I daresay are well known to you — if not, so much the better — Yours very truly Tho. Oliphant." Oliphant's "memorandums" are traceable also on B.M. Add. MS. 11608 which was purchased by the Museum June 17, 1839, his initials T.O. appearing on f. 61v.

acquired by Birmingham City Library in November 1883: MS. 29396 by the British Museum 24 April 1873. Thus c. 1873-1883 is as near a guess as is possible [23].

It is becoming increasingly evident that the history of the provenance of one manuscript book of seventeenth-century song is bound up with the fascinating but elusive bigger problem of the general provenance of such MSS. as a whole, and that a great deal more research is called for. It seemed unnecessary, however, to hold up the publication of such encouraging results as have already been achieved.

The manuscript measures 278 x 181 mm., contains (or rather did contain) 117 folios including, that is, the introductory and concluding lists of contents. The vast majority of its songs is scored for Treble and Bass, ten staves per page. One pagination numbering carries through to p. 191: another beginning from the back of the manuscript reversed continues to page 22; only one blank page separates the two sections.

A complete list of contents now follows with a commentary. I shall be grateful to readers for any identifications made possible by the publishing of this list. Anonymous texts that are in any sense complete in the manuscript are included in my *Seventeenth-Century Songs and Lyrics from Music MSS,* (University of Missouri Press, 1959).

LIST OF CONTENTS

Folio	MS. *Pagination*		
1	—	Index of Songs by Key G♯ and Gb	and page numbers
1v	—	„ „ „ „ „ A, A♯ and Bb	„ „ „
2	—	„ „ „ „ „ C, Cb.	„ „ „
2v	—	„ „ „ „ „ D, Eb.	„ „ „
3	—	„ „ „ „ „ ff°. ff°. b	„ „ „
3v	—	Blank	

Numbering of Songs				
1	4-5	(1-3)	Haruest home wee bringe her à 3	John Wilson
2	5v-7v	(4-8)	I: and whither shall wee goe à 3	Dr. John Wilson

23 One other musicologist from whose library a good many music MSS. may be expected to have come is John Stafford Smith whose library was indiscriminately sold 24 April 1844. Some of his MSS. found their way into the Ewing collection at Glasgow: some into Rimbault's hand (see my article "An Unpublished Contemporary Setting of a Shakespeare Song", *Shakespeare Survey,* 1956, IX. 86-89). But surely Smith would have used Dc. 1. 69 as he did Dx. 4175 for his collection *Musica Antiqua,* 1812. It seems safest on the whole to think of Dc. 1. 69 being in private non-musicological ownership and being loaned out to Rimbault and possibly others.

3	8-8v	(9-10)	'Twas meerly out of zeale to Jack à 2	Dr. John Wilson
4	9-9v	(11-12)	Sack is ye Prince &c à 2	John Wilson
5	10-10v	(13-14)	Woman is Nothinge &c à 2	John Wilson
6	11-11v	(15-16)	Bring out the cold Chine à 2	
7	12-12v	(17-18)	All ye day longe à 2	Dr. Wilson
8	13	(19)	Si aliquis vult Esse frater	
	13v-16	(20-25)	Blank	
9	16v-18v	(26-30)	Bright soule, Bright soule, Instruct poore Mortalls à 2	
	19v	(31)	Blank	
10	19-20v	(32-33)	Good Morrow Good morrow vnto her à 2	Will Lawes
11	20-20	(33-34)	Maidens rise & come away	John Wilson
	21	(35)	Blank	
12	21v-22	(36-37)	O that my tongue à 2	Dr. Wilson
13	22v-23v	(38-40)	Cold Heritique & à 2	Dr. Wilson
14	23v-24	(40-41)	Ther is none O None but I	Dr. Wilson
15	24v-25	(42-43)	Singe Singe his praises that doth Keepe à 2	Will Lawes
16	25v-26	(44-45)	O fayre sweet face	John Wilson
17	26v-27v	(46-48)	Deare leaue thy home & come with mee à 2	Mr. Will Lawes
	28	(49)	Blank	
18	28v-30	(50-53)	Bright soule Instruct poore Mortalls à 2	
19	30v	(54)	Here lyes Charles ye first ye Great	
20	31-32	(55-57)	Weepe gentle sheapherds of this Plaine	Dr. Wilson
21	32v-33v	(58-60)	Damon, good morrowe may ye morninge queene à 2	Mr. Will Lawes
	34v	(61)	Blank	
22	34	(62)	*Since Loue hath in thine & mine Eye	
23	35v	(63)	Haec est aqua vere' fortis à 2	
	35	(64)	Blank	
24	36-37	(65-67)	*When ye cleere sun with his beames hott	Dr. Wilson
25	37v	(68)	*Thou yt Excellest, & sweeter smellest	
26	39	(69)	*I sweare by Muskadell, yt I doe Loue thee well	
27	39v	(70)	*ffondness of man to loue	
28	40	(71)	*Downe bee still you seas	
29	40v-41	(72-73)	*What would any man desire?	
30	41v	(74)	*Not Roses Coucht within a Lilly bedd	
31	42	(75)	*Soe many Loues have I neglected	
32	42v	(76)	*Now the Lusty springe is seene	
	43	(—)	Blank	

	43v	(—)	Extra verses to following item	
33	44	(77)	*Wherefore peepst thou Enuious day	
34	44v	(78)	*Turne, Turne, turne thy beautious face away	
35	45	(79)	*When I behold my mistress face	
36	45v	(80)	*In a vale wth flowretts spangled	
	46	(—)	Extra verses	
	46v	(—)	Blank	
37	47	(81)	*My Loue & I for kisses plaid	
38	47v	(82)	*Come Silent night, & in thy gloomy shade	
39	48	(83)	*Whosoe complaineth gaineth	
40	48v	(84)	*When Troy towne for ten yeares warres	
41	48v-49	(84-85)	*from y^{e} fayre Lauinian shore	
42	49	(85)	*When Loue with vnconfined winges	
43	49v	(86)	*Will you buy any Honesty come away	
44	50	(87)	*ffûll fathome fiue thy father lyes	Robt. Johnson
45	50v	(88)	*Wher y^{e} Bee sucks ther suck I	Robt. Johnson
46	51	(89)	Gather your rose budds while you may	
	51v	(90)	Blank	
47	52	(91)	*Come hither you y^{t} Loue	Robt. Johnson
48	52v-53	(92-93)	*Have y^{o} any worke for y^{e} sowgelder hoe	
49	53	(93)	I can Loue for an hower	
50	53v	(94)	*Clora's falce loue made Clora weepe	
	54	(—)	Extra verses	
	54v	(—)	Extra verses to following item	
51	55	(95)	Collen say why sittst thou soe à 2	
52	55v-56	(96-97)	*Come constant hearts y^{t} soe preuayle	
53	56	(97)	*Loue & disdaine dwells in my mistress Eyes	
54	56v-57	(98-99)	*Aske mee noe more, whither doth stray	
55	57v	(100)	*Cupid thou art a wanton boy	
56	58	(101)	*I Loue (alas) but cannot show it	
57	58v	(102)	*In a season all oppressed	
58	59	(103)	*Though your strangeness fretts my heart	
59	59v-60	(104-105)	*If I dye, bee this my will	
60	60v-61	(106-107)	*Greedy Louer pawse a while	
61	61v	(108)	Sweet serene sky-like flower	
	62v	(109)	Blank	
62	62	(110)	*Thine eyes to mee like Sunnes appeare	
63	63	(111)	*I would haue thee Merry laugh & smile	
64	63v	(112)	*In the merry month of May	

65	64	(113)	If thou dost Loue mee I Loue againe
66	64v	(114)	*ffaine would I Cloris whom my heart adores
67	65	(115)	*Deare giue mee a thousand
68	65v-66	(116-117)	*Lawne as white
69	66v	(118)	*Tell mee wher ye beautye
70	67	(119)	Will you know my Mistress face
71	67v-68	(120-121)	Hence childish boy
72	68v-69	(122-123)	*Come thou father of y^{e} springe
73	69v	(124)	*ffôr Euer lett thy heavenly Tapers
	70	(125)	Blank
74	70v	(126)	*Since Loue hath brought thee
75	71	(127)	*Noe Noe I tell thee Noe
76	71v	(128)	*ffly hence shaddowes that doe keepe
77	72	(129)	*you Herraulds of my Mistress hart
78	72v-73	(130-1)	*Why thinkst thou foole thy beautyes rayes
79	73	(131)	I am a poore & harmless mayde
80	73v	(132)	*Be not thou soe foolish nice
	74	(133)	Blank
81	74v-75	(134-5)	*When on mine Eyes her Eyes first shone
82	75v-76	(136-7)	*Hence with this wedlock Chaine & smart
83	76v	(138)	*You say you Loue mee Nay can sweare it too
84	77	(139)	*Soe have I seene a Siluer Swann
85	77v	(140)	*View'st thou y^{t} poore penurious payre
86	78	(141)	*If I must tell you what I loue
87	78v-79	(142-3)	*If my Lady bidd begin
88	79v-80	(144-5)	*Goe restlesse thoughts
89	80v-81	(146-7)	*Goe weather beaten thoughts
90	81v	(148)	*God Lyeus Euer younge
91	82	(149)	*Boast not blinde boy y^{t} I'me thy Prize
92	82v	(150)	*Thoughts doe not vexx mee
93	83	(151)	*Younge Thirsis lay in Phillis lapp
94	83v-84	(152-3)	*Kawasha comes in Majestée
95	84v	(154)	*Cast your Capps & Cares away
96	85	(155)	*Do not feare to putt thy feet
97	85v	(156)	'Twas not his person nor his partes
98	86	(157)	That ffort is but feeble, which wordes can Subdue
99	86v-87	(158-9)	*The Larke forsakes her wat'ry nest
100	87v-88	(160-1)	Tyrant Cupid I'le appeale from thee à 2
101	88v	(162)	Cloris since thou wert fledd away
102	89	(163)	A fastinge Supper call you this
103	89v-90	(164-5)	Hark Hark how Bellona thunders

	90v	(166)	Blank	
104	91	(167)	Singe aloud Harmonious Spheares	
105	91v	(168)	Goe bidd the swañ in silence dye	Sy. Ives.
106	92	(169)	Amor merere che' d'amor merere	
107	92v-93	(170-1)	Tell mee O à 2	
108	93v-95	(172-5)	Wassell wassell our Jolly Jolly wassell à 2	
109	95v-96	(176-177)	South wind blowes — Then cast thy Bookes & cares behinde à 2	
110	96v-97v	(178-180)	You thick wouen groues giue way à 2	
	98	(181)	Blank	
111	98v	(182)	What is freindship? à 2	
	99	(183)	Blank	
112	99v-100	(184-5)	What is y^e world y^t wee should loue à 2	
113	100v-102	(186-9)	Good Folk Good Folk for loue or hyer	Mr. Bowman
114	102v-103	(190-1)	Come forth come forth bright Nymphs à 2	
	103v	(—)	Blank	

Volume reversed and contents now listed beginning at the back

	117v	(—)	Index of songs in Key G♯, Gb, D, C♯, Cb and page nos.	
	117-116	(—)	Blank	
115	115v reversed	(126)	One stanza (no music) Seest thou that fountaine	
	115	(—)	Blank	
116	114v	(1*)	Sr Eglamore that valiant Knight	
117	114	(2*)	My Loue gaue mee a Cherry	
118	113v	(3*)	Credo non poco, del strada Effrata	
119	113	(4*)	O prosper longe our noble kinge	E. L.
120	112v-111v	(5*-7*)	Cease warring thoughts (two copies à 2 & à 3)	
121	111-110v	(8*-9*)	Loue throwes more dangerous darts than death à 3	Mr. Will Lawes
122	110-109v	(10*-11*)	Com Cloris hye wee to y^e bower à 3	Mr. Will Lawes
123	109	(12*)	Why doe you dwell à 3 (Song 4)	W. Law's
124	108v-108	(13*-14*)	When by thy scorn foule murdress I am dead (Song 5)	W. Lawes
125	107v	(15*)	Good morrow vnto her à 3 (Song 6)	Mr. Laws
126	107-106v	(16*-17*)	Sing that doth keep à 3 (Song 7)	W. Laws
127	106-105v	(18*-19*)	Why should fond man be led about (Song 8)	Will Laws
128	105-104v	(20*-21*)	Behold how this Conjunction thrives (Song 9) à 3	Will Laws
129	104	(22*)	mortali che fate che fate à 3	

COMMENTARY

Abbreviations:

C.A. *Cheerfull Ayres,* (Oxford, 1659-1660).

S.C.S. & L. Cutts, John P., *Seventeenth-Century Songs and Lyrics,* (University of Missouri Press, 1959).

f. 1 The second hand has added the comment "Wanting" opposite the listed items "full fathom fiue — 87" and "Wher y^{e} Bee sucks — 88".

f. 1v A star * is given opposite the item "here Lyes Charles y^{e} first — 54".

f. 2 The second hand has added the comment "not found?" opposite the item "If y^{e} stringes hold — 9", "Wanting" against "Deare giue mee a thousand — 115" and "Lawn as white — 116", and "not found" against the item "South wind blowes — 176". This last item is particularly interesting since it provides the first words of "The Rayny day" f. 95v which are not given there. The star mark occurs opposite the item "Deare Leaue thy home — 46".

f. 2v Stars occur opposite "Ther is none O none — 40" and "O fayre Sweet Eyes — 44".

No. 1. The MS. has the title "Cantus 1 Haruest Songe Jo. Wilson", which may have the added interest that the whole MS. was conceived along *Cheerfull Ayres* lines with Cantus 1, Cantus 2 and Bass. I think it may possibly be a "Witney" Harvest Song.

No. 2. Called "The Wake" in the MS. It is Martin Llewelyn's Witney Wake first published in his *Men Miracles,* 1646, Sigs D 8v-E 2v. The vocal text is not completely written out in the MS. but in what is given the following variants occur from the text of *Men Miracles* (John Drinkwater's copy in the State University of Iowa Library, XPR 3541 L 58 M 4 (not listed in *STC* or *Wing*)

12 the Ribbons]: her Ribbons Dc. 1. 69;
13 and the]: & Dc. 1. 69; 42 ye]: you Dc. 1. 69;
82 bring our Noble Queene a safe ouer the ferry]:
a bring our Noble Queene ouer y^{e} ferry Dc. 1. 69;
85 God a]: O a Dc. 1. 69; 86 I say]: wee say Dc. 1. 69.

No. 3. This Loyalist drinking song also celebrates "Dr. Jack Wilson" at "fishers". Included in *SCS & L.*

No. 4. Printed in *Catch that Catch Can,* 1667, pp. 102-104 ascribed to Wilson. At the head of the music in the MS. occurs the letter "p".

No. 5. Included in *SCS & L.*

No. 6. Extant also in Drexel MS. 4041, ff. 106v-108v text only. I think this song may well belong to a play. Its line "How shall I look in honour of the master Cook" might have some bearing on "O yet but look on the Master Cook" in *The Bloody Brother* for which play John Wilson set "Take o Take".

No. 7. I cannot trace this though Rimbault (or whoever was the annotator) had another source for the line "Drinking & [dancing] at y^{e} wake we'll ⌊stay⌋" is added. Again the song is concerned with a country wake and may possibly be associated with Witney.

No. 8. This glorious "Carmina Burana" — like drinking song contains the toast "pro Rege Et pro Papa" and a wonderful take-off of the Church doxology "per sæcula sæculorum" in "per plena pocula poculorum". S.C.S. + L.

No. 9. This version is repeated at ff. 28v-30 (see No. 18). It is a most important elegy and eulogy on Charles I. Included in *SCS & L.* The two versions between them provide a reasonable verbal text.

No. 10. William Lawes' setting of James Shirley's poem "Good Morrow" is repeated in the MS. at f. 107v No. 125. It is extant also in Drexel MS. 4041 ff. 99v-100v. Variants from the text edited by Armstrong, R. L., *The Poems of James Shirley,* (New York, 1941), p. 1. are as follows:

9 The day] Thus Dc. 1. 69; 10 Mortalls doe wake or sleepe by y^{ee} Dc. 1. 69; 11 all]our Dc. 1. 69.

The first two variants agree with those in Bodleian MS. Rawl. Poet 88.

No. 11. Untraced. The annotator has added phrases "let them lead you to the Bowre" and has emended the MS. "Or if you'd loose your Maidenheads" to "Or if Bridgroome y^{e} w^{d} wed" with an alternative "Or if you'd choose to Bridegroome wed".

No. 12. Wilson's setting of Sir Robert Aytoun's poem is also extant in Drexel 425. 9. Variants from the received text edited by Roger, Charles, *The Poems of Sir Robert Aytoun,* (Edinburgh 1844), pp. 20-21 are as follows:

my] mine Dc. 1. 69; 11 But] wher Dc. 1. 69: shams] Charmes Dc. 1. 69; hears] fears Dc. 1. 69; 12 doth shut] shee shutts; 16 Till] to Dc. 1. 69; be tried] betrai'd Dc. 1. 69; 17 more] Moist Dc. 1. 69; 18 grief] if't Dc. 1. 69; 22 friendship's tie] friendly speech Dc. 1. 69; 23 Love once] for Loue Dc. 1. 69.

No. 13. Untraced. Printed in SCS & L. Since it is flanked in the MS. by Aytoun poems I am inclined to think it is his.

No. 14. Wilson's setting of Aytoun's "To a Scornful Mistresse" is extant also in Bodleian MS. Mus. b. 1. f. 118, Drexel MS. 4041 ff. 22-22v, British Museum Additional MS. 29396, f. 81v, and Egerton MS. 2013, f. 32v. Variants from the received text pp. 32-33 are:

1 no] O Dc. 1. 69; 4 beg] Elce taKe Dc. 1. 69; Stanzas II-IV omitted in Dc. 1. 69; 17 No] O Dc. 1. 69; none] O noe Dc. 1. 69; 19 sweet] fayre Dc. 1. 69; 22 you should 60] to mee you are Dc. 1. 69.

No. 15. This is the song sung in praise of Pan in Fletcher's *The Faithful Shepherdess.* Lawes' setting must belong, I think, to the revision of the play in 1633. It is repeated in the MS. here at ff. 106v-107 No. 126. The setting of another song from the same play "Do not feare to putt thy feet" occurs at f. 85 No. 96 and is usually attributed to John Wilson since he included it in *C.A.* under his own name. The following variants from the received text as edited by W. W. Greg in the 1908 Variorum edition of the play, pp. 28-29 are as follows:

6 neighbouring] murmuringe; 7 her] the;

The last three lines are scored for a Chorus of Treble and Bass.

No. 16. Wilson's setting of this song from Fletcher's *Women Pleas'd* is extant also in Bod. Lib. MS. Mus. b. 1. f. 38v and B. M. Egerton MS. 2013, f. 12v.

No. 17. William Lawes' authorship of the setting of this poem, substantiated by its inclusion in his autograph manuscript Bod. Lib. MS. Mus. Sch. B 2 (crossed out, however, but still legible) makes it possible for us to state that B. M. Loan MS. 35 (the Cooper Smith MS), which is usually regarded as a collection of only Henry Lawes' songs since his signature occurs on every leaf,

does in fact contain some of his brother's work for the same setting of "Deare leave thy home and come wth me" occurs there at f. 34.

The authorship of the lyric is still in doubt. It was claimed for the Earl of Pembroke by John Donne in his edition of Pembroke, *William Herbert, Poems ... 1660,* Sig. D 3v but has since been claimed by G. C. Moore Smith for Thomas Randolph in "Thomas Randolph", *British Academy,* 1927, pp. 39-40.

An annotator has supplied missing phrases in the lyric.

No. 18. See No. 9.

No. 19. This intensely royalist epitaph on Charles I is not known elsewhere. Included in SCS & L.

No. 20. An elegy on the death of Charles I. Included in SCS & L.

No. 21. Untraced.

No. 22. Wilson's setting of this anonymous poem was first printed in *Select Musical Ayres and Dialogues,* 1652, I. 32 and subsequently appeared in *Wit's Interpreter,* 1655, Sig. V 6v and *C.A.,* pp. 90-1. It is extant also in Bod. Lib. MS. Mus. b. 1. f. 124v and in B.M. Add. MS. 29396 ff. 38v & 39. Significantly "pr" occurs at the head of this item.

No. 23. This drinking song to Pan (?) is untraced.

No. 24. Wilson's setting of this song occurs again in *C.A.* pp. 98-102, in Drexel MSS. 4041, ff. 15v-16 (tune only) and 4257. 175. William Byrd also set the same words in *Songs of Sundry Natures,* 1589 and it is this version of the lyric that is included in *England's Helicon,* 1600 (cf. Macdonald, H., ed., *England's Helicon,* (Harvard, 1950), p. 162). The variants from the text as edited by Fellowes, E. H., in *English Madrigal Verse* (Oxford, 1929), pp. 54-5 are so extensive that I have decided to print the Dc. 1. 69 text in full.

When y^{e} cleere sun̄ with his beames hott,
scorched y^{e} grass in Meade and mountaine,
Strephon y^{e} sheepheard now forgott,
late sittinge by a Christall fountaine,
vnder a spreadinge Beeches shade,
for Phillis Eare this ditty made,
ffarewell farewell falce & vntrue Loue
light as y^{e} winde soone chang'd for new Loue.

Soe longe as I was in your Sight
I was y^{r} life y^{r} heart y^{r} treasure
& with fain'd Eyes you Moan'd & Sigh'd
as in flame burninge past all measure,
three dayes indur'd this loue to mee,
& it is lost in Other three.
farewell farewell: &c.

Soone as another swayne you saw,
Who may bye Loue or likenige feigned
you 'gan from mee y^{r} Loue with-draw,
& soone my place hee had Obtayned.
Then came a third y^{r} Loue to win̄,
& wee were out & hee was in
farewell &c.

Doubtless you beare yoor selfe in hand
because of Loues yo breed such plentye,
to fill with new loues all ye Land,
& all ye world if it were Empty,
But O you doe yr selfe be-guile,
because they liue soe short a while
farewell farewell &c.

No. 25. Both Wilson and William Lawes made a setting of these words. Wilson's is extant also in Bod. Lib. MS. Mus. b. 1. f. 116v (see my article on this MS) and *C.A.* pp. 66-7: Lawes in his autograph MS. B.M. Add. MS. 31432, f. 29 and in Drexel MS. 4257. 185 (lacks the 3rd stanza. (cf. my article "William Lawes' writing for the Theatre & Court", *The Library,* Dec. 1952, fifth series, VII. 4. 225-234.

No. 26. Wilson's setting of this song from William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle's *The Variety* (Kings, 1639) is extant also in Bod. Lib. MS. Don. c-57. f. 78 and Drexel MS. 4041, ff. 36v-37 (cf. Cutts, John P., "A Bodleian Song-Book", *Music & Letters,* July 1953, XXXIV. 3. 192-212). The song occurs in *C.A.* pp. 108-109.

No. 27. Extant also in Bodleian MS. Mus. b. 1. f. 96v. Included in *C.A.,* pp. 110-111.

No. 28. Extant also in Drexel MS. 4041. 11, ff. 11v-12. Included in *C.A.,* pp. 112-113. This is possibly the original song for Fletcher's play *The Pilgrim* which now has "Down ye angry waters all".

No. 29. Included in *C.A.,* pp. 103-105.

No. 30. Extant also in Bodleian MS. Mus. b. 1. f. 30 and Christ Church Music MS. 434, ff. 2v-3. Printed in *C.A.,* pp. 132-3, *Love and Eloquence,* 1658.

No. 31. Thomas Campion's lyric as set by himself was included in his *Second Book of Ayres,* c. 1613 reprinted in *The English School of Lutenist Song Writers,* (London, 1925) second series, pp. 28-29. Wilson's setting is extant also in Bod. Lib. MS. Mus. b. 1. f. 15v with only the first stanza, as here. Variants from the text edited by Vivian, P., *Campion's Works* (Oxford, 1909), p. 141 are as follows:

3 liue] am: 7 looseth] loosinge

Included in *C.A.,* pp. 134-5.

No. 32. Wilson's setting of this song from Beaumont and Fletcher's *Valentinian. C.A.,* pp. 136-7.

No. 33. Wilson's setting of this poem is extant also in Bod. Lib. MSS. Mus. b. 1. f. 13 and Don. c. 57 f. 79v, in Drexel MS. 4175. LVii (Voice and Lute). Variants of the same setting occur in B.M. Eg. MS. 2013, f. 36v, and f. 37 (voice and Treble only) and in B.M. Loan MS. 35, f. 19v. Apparently Henry Lawes did not compose a new setting but extemporized on Wilson's. The poem is occasionally attributed to Donne. Variants from the text as edited by H. C. Grierson *The Poems of John Donne* (Oxford, 1912), pp. 451-2 are as follows:

3 the] that Dc. 1. 69; 4 Which] that Dc. 1. 69;
8 blisses] pleasures Dc. 1. 69; 10 thy]our Dc. 1. 69;
12 catch] see Dc. 1. 69; 16 pleasures] kisses Dc. 1. 69;
18 would stay] should wish Dc. 1. 69; 19 anothers] another Dc. 1. 69; 21 spoilst] Marr'st Dc. 1. 69;

No. 34. Wilson's setting is extant also in Bod. Lib. MS. Mus. b. 1. f. 28v. The song belongs to Fletcher's *Love's Cure. C.A.*, pp. 140-1.

No. 35. Wilson's setting is extant also in Bod. Lib. MS. Mus. b. 1. f. 20v. *C.A.*, pp. 142-3.

No. 36. Wilson's setting is extant also in Bod. Lib. MS. Mus.b. 1. f. 100v and in Drexel MS. 4257. 176. *C.A.*, pp. 146-7.

No. 37. The same setting of William Strode's song occurs also in Bod. Lib. MS. Mus. b. 1. f. 16v. A setting was included in Bishop Thomas Smith's MS. (1637 Altus & Bassus) but the manuscript has been lost sight of (cf. Brown, James Walter, "An Elizabethan Song Cycle", *Cornhill,* 1920, 48. 572-9; 1921 49. 285-296). *C.A.*, pp. 144-5. Variants from the text as edited by Dobell, Bertram, *The Poetical Works of William Strode,* (London, 1907), p. 47 are:

2 stake] stakes Dc. 1. 69; 5 Pray] Nay Dc. 1. 69;
6 giue me myne againe] & I'le take mine againe.

No. 38. Wilson's setting is extant also in Bod. Lib. Mus. b. 1. f. 31 and in B.M. Add. MS. 11608, ff. 28v-29 (ascribed to "Dr. Jo. Wilson") *C.A.*, pp. 30-1. The lyric has been claimed for Thomas Randolph by G. C. Moore Smith, "Thomas Randolph", *British Academy,* 1927, p. 39.

No. 39. Extant also in Bod. Lib. MS. Mus. b. 1. f. 30v. *C.A.*, pp. 28-29.

No. 40. Extant also in Folger Library MS. 757. 1. f. 9 (Bass), f. 12 (Treble). The lyric must belong to before 1620 since the song "Fond wanton youth makes love a god" in *A Golden Garland of Princely Delights,* 1620, Sig. F 7 is to be sung "To the tune" of "When Troy towne". *C.A.*, p. 2.

No. 41. This pedlar's song which has often been associated with *The Winter's Tale* though without any positive evidence, is extant in various MSS.: — Edinburgh Univ. Lib. MS. 490. 36 & 37; B.M. Add. MS. 11608, ff. 66v-67(ascribed to Wilson); Drexel MS. 4257. 96 (Title in Table only); Nat. Lib. of Scotland. Adv. MS. 3581, f. 3v (words only) and Folger MS. 747. 1. f. 9 (Bass), f. 13 (Treble). *C.A.*, p. 3.

No. 42. "To ALTHEA / *From Prison* / Song. / Set by Dr. *John Wilson.*" is extant also in Drexel MS. 4257. 215. Wilson's setting was printed in *Select Ayres and Dialogues,* 1659, p. 97 and *C.A.*, pp. 10-11. See further Cutts, John P., "John Wilson and Lovelace's 'The Rose' ", *Notes & Queries,* April 1953, cxcviii. 153-4. Here in Dc. 1. 69 there is the annotation "pr^{d}. page 7 — printed J. Wilson". The discrepancy between p. 7 and pp. 10-11 of *C.A.*, need not worry us unnecessarily since no two copies of *C.A.*, which I have seen agree in the numbering order of the songs.

The following variants occur from the text as edited by C. H. Wilkinson *The Poems of Richard Lovelace* (Oxford, 1930), pp. 78-79:

4 the] my Dc. 1. 69; 6 to] in Dc. 1. 69; 7 *Gods*] Birds Dc. 1. 69;

No. 43. This is the only manuscript version of the song from Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Loyal Subject. C.A.*, pp. 4-5.

Nos. 44-45. Robert Johnson's settings are fully commented upon in my book *Music for Shakespeare's Company, The Kings Men.*

No. 46. William Lawes' setting of Herrick's "To the Virgins, to make much of time" is extant also in Edinburg Univ. Lib. MS. 490. 32, 33; Nat. Lib. of Scotland Adv. MS. 5. 2. 17. f. 16 (Treble only); Bodleian MS. Don. c. 57. f. 72v; Drexel MSS. 4041. 59, 4257. 141 and BM. Add. MSS. 31432, ff. 33v, 34 (William Lawes' autograph) 29396, ff. 17v, 18.

No. 47. Robert Johnson's setting of this song from Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Captain* V.i., is extant also in Drexel MS. 4257. 108. *C.A.*, pp. 14-15 (ascribed). See further my article "Robert Johnson: King's Musician", *Music & Letters, op. cit.* Included in my book of *Music for Shakespeare's Company, The King's Men* with full collation of music and texts.

No. 48. This is, I believe, the only manuscript version of the setting of this song from Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Beggar's Bush,* III. i. *C.A.*, pp. 12-13.

No. 49. The setting is extant also in B.M. Add. MS. 29396, f. 24 and in Drexel MS. 4257. 157. Its close proximity here in the MS. to play songs has suggested to me that the resemblance between this song and "I could have the power / To love one above an hour" in Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Maid's Tragedy,* may not merely be coincidental. A good number of songs has been lost from their plays. The song is included in *Wit's Interpreter,* 1655, Sig. A 2v.

No. 50. John Wilson's setting was published first in *Select Musicall Ayres and Dialogues,* 1652, I. 25. It is extant also in Bodleian MS. Mus. b. 1. ff. 122v-3, in Christ Church MS. 365, f. 69 (Treble only), Drexel MS. 4257. 292 and in B.M. Add. MS. 29396, ff. 40v-1. *C.A.*, pp. 44-5.

No. 51. The song is extant also in Drexel MS. 4041, ff. 126-126v with an ascription to "m^{r} Eynes", in B.M. Add. MS. 29396, ff. 21.21v attributed to "M. Laniere" with a "Through Base" to Collens answer, and in B.M. Add. MS. 11608, f. 73 (Nicholas Laneir) with another chorus added by "T.C." on "31 Oct. 1659". Since the setting is the same in all four MSS., the ascription to "m^{r} Eynes" is unsafe.

No. 52. John Wilson's setting occurs also in Bodleian MS. Mus. b. 1. ff. 43v-44 and in Christ Church MS. 434, ff. 2v-4 (ascribed). *C.A.*, pp. 32-3. The text was printed in *Love and Eloquence,* 1658, and occurs in Folger MS. 1. 8. (Warwick Castle MS.) c. 1630, ff. 22-22v.

No. 53. The setting occurs also in Bodleian MS. Mus. b. 1. f. 42v and is, therefore, probably Wilson's. *C.A.*, pp. 34-5. The text is extant in Folger MS. 1. 8. c. 1630. f. 29.

No. 54. Thomas Carew's "A Song" received at least two settings. John Wilson's, as here, is extant also in Bod. MS. Mus. b. 1. f. 113v: William Lawes' setting is extant in his autograph MS. B.M. Add. MS. 31432, f. 11 in Bodleian MS. Don. c. 57. 58 (70) f. 36v, in Drexel MS. 4257. 3, Trin. Coll. Dub. MS. F. 5. 13, and in Lambeth Palace MS. 1041 (Treble and lute accompaniment) f. 5. The text occurs in Folger MS. 1. 8. c. 1630, f. 27v unascribed, and was printed by Donne, John, ed., *Pembroke, W. H., ... Poems,* 1660, Sig. G 6v ascribed to Pembroke even though it had been published in Carew's *Poems* of 1640. The following variants occur from the text edited by Rhodes Dunlap, *The Poems of Thomas Carew* (Oxford 1949), pp. 102-3. The order of the stanzas is different 2, 4, 1, 5, stanza 3 being omitted:

Stanza 2 5 whether] whither Dc. 1. 69; 6 The] those Dc. 1. 69; 7 heaven did] y^{e} Heavens Dc. 1. 69; Those ... your] that ... thy Dc. 1. 69;

Stanza 4 14 downewards fall] downward shoote Dc. 1. 69; 15 your ... sit] thine ... sett Dc. 1. 69;

Stanza 1 2 past ... fading] gone ... flaminge Dc. 1. 69; 3 your] thy Dc. 1. 69; 4 These] all Dc. 1. 69;

Stanza 5 17 Aske me no] Nor aske mee Dc. 1. 69; 19] you thee Dc. 1. 69; 20 your] thy Dc. 1. 69.

The stanza order and variants mark this version out as different from any other known.

No. 55. Wilson's setting is extant also in Bod. MSS. Mus. b. 1. f. 101 and Don. c. 57. 137 (140) f. 76 (ascribed). *C.A.,* pp. 38-39.

No. 56. Wilson's setting is extant also in Bod. MSS. Mus. b. 1. f. 114 and Don. c. 57 138 (140v) f. 76 ascribed, in B.M. Add. MS. 29396, ff. 35v-36 ascribed, and in Drexel MSS. 4041. ff. 24v-25 ascribed and 4257. 169 (Treble only). It was first printed in *Select Musical Ayres and Dialogues, 1652,* I. 24. The text was included in *Wit's Interpreter,* 1655, Sig. Z 7. *C.A.,* pp. 46-47.

No. 57. Norman Ault printed the text of this song in *A Treasury of Unfamiliar Lyrics,* (London, 1938), p. 217 taking his text from Bod. MS. Don. c. 57. 132 (137) f. 73. The setting is John Wilson's. In Folger MS. 747. 1. f. 2. there occurs a Bass only. *C.A.,* pp. 36-37.

No. 58. Thomas Campion's lyric was included in his *Second Booke of Ayres,* c. 1613 as number XVI. A setting of the same song was included in Robert Jones' *Musicall Dreame,* 1609, as the first item. Campion's setting is extant in Drexel MS. 4175. XXV (This was the version printed by Smith, J. S., *Musica Antiqua,* (London, 1812), I. 52 — See my article "An unpublished contemporary setting of a Shakespeare song", *Shakespeare Survey,* 1956, IX. 89 n. 2); in Christ Church 439, f. 13v and in B.M. Add. MS. 33933, f. 83 (Treble and title only). *C.A.,* pp. 40-41.

Only the first and third stanzas of the received version are given here in Dc. 1. 69 and the following variants are from the text edited by P. Vivian in *Campion's Works,* (Oxford, 1909), p. 142:

16 hold] haue Dc. 1. 69; 18 sit] stand Dc. 1. 69;
19-20] omit and substitute 26-27 of last stanza
with one variant 27 I must] must I Dc. 1. 69.

See further John Forbes, *Songs and Fancies,* 1662, p. 31 and Terry, C. S., *Musical Quarterly,* October 1936, XXII. 4. 415.

No. 59. Wilson's setting is included in Bod. MS. Mus. b. 1. ff. 31v-32 and in B.M. Add. MS. 11608, ff. 29v-30 ascribed to "Dr. Jo. Wilson". *C.A.,* pp. 48-49.

No. 60. This song attributed to Sir Albertus Morton (1584?-1625) in the *Cambridge Book of Lesser Poets,* (Cambridge, 1927), p. 80 is extant also in Bod. MS. Mus. b. 1. ff. 92v-93, in Christ Church MS. 438, f. 2v (Mrs. Anne Baylie her Booke, 1645), and in B.M. Loan MS. 35, f. 123. *C.A.,* pp. 50-2. In the last instance the setting is by Henry Lawes with reminiscences of the setting by Wilson.

No. 61. Lovelace's 'The Rose' is beautifully set by Wilson whose setting occurs also in Bod. MS. Mus. b. 1. f. 130 and in Drexel MS. 4041. f. 62 ascribed. Cf. my article "John Wilson and Lovelace's 'The Rose' ", *Notes & Queries,* April 1953, CXCVIII. 153-154. It is difficult to understand why Wilson omitted it from *C.A.* The 1647 edition of Lovelace's *Poems* referred to the fact that 'The Rose' was "Set by John Wilson". Only the first two stanzas of the text as edited by C. H. Wilkinson, *The Poems of Richard Lovelace,* (Oxford, 1930), pp. 23-24), are given here and there are no variants. The song was performed by the present writer at a Renaissance Concert in Wantage Hall, University of Reading in 1952.

No. 62. This song from William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle's The *Varietie* is extant also in Drexel MS. 4041. f. 35v (ascribed to "J. W." Wilson composed settings for at least three songs in the play. Cf. my book *Music for Shakespeare's Company. C.A.,* p. 53.

No. 63. This is also from *The Varietie* and extant likewise in Drexel MS. 4041. ff. 36-36v (ascribed to "J. W."). It is a delightful setting, cleverly indicating the changes in a woman's moods. *C.A.,* p. 57.

No. 64. John Wilson's setting is extant also in Bodleian MSS. Mus. b. 1. f. 135 and Don. c. 57 139 (141) f. 77 ascribed. The song by Nicholas Breton 'The Plowman's Song' was first printed in *England's Helicon,* 1600. For a fuller comment see my article on "Seventeenth-Century Lyrics in Bodleian Manuscript Mus. b. 1.", *Musica Disciplina,* 1956, X. 142-209.

No. 65. Extant also in B.M. Add. MS. 11608, f. 55v and Drexel MS. 4257. 216.

No. 66. Extant also in Bodleian MS. Mus. b. 1. f. 65. *C.A.,* pp. 60-1.

No. 67. Extant in Bod. MS. Mus. b. 1. f. 46. *C.A.,* pp. 62-3. For this and the following two items see the Introduction.

No. 68. It is particularly regrettable that this item is no longer to be found in the MS. since the only version we have of the music is that to be found in *C.A.,* pp. 64-6. The original setting of the song was, I believe, Robert Johnson's. See my article in *Music & Letters* on Johnson.

No. 69. A setting of this anonymous song was included in Walter Porter's *Madrigales and Ayres,* 1632, as no. xviii. Wilson's setting is extant in Bod. MSS. Mus. b. 1. f. 84 and Don. c. 57. 123 (133), f. 69v. *C.A.,* pp. 76-7. The text of the song occurs in Folger MS. 1. 8. (Warwick Castle MS.), c. 1630, f. 8v without ascription.

No. 70. Wilson's setting is extant also in Bod. MS. Mus. b. 1. f. 19. A setting by Henry Lawes, reminiscent of Wilson's is extant in B.M. Loan MS. 35, f. 50.

No. 71. John Wilson's setting of this anonymous lyric is extant also in Bod. MS. Mus. b. 1. ff. 120v-1. Printed by me for the first time in *Musica Disciplina* 1956 and *Seventeenth Century Songs, (*University of Reading, 1956), p. 22.

No. 72. Extant also in Bod. MS. Mus. b. 1. f. 128. *C.A.,* pp. 80-1.

No. 73. Robert Johnson's setting of this anonymous lyric (from some play or other?) was printed by Wilson in *C.A.,* pp. 86-7 and attributed to him, Wilson adding a "Cantus Secundus" and "Bassus". On the folio leaf in Dc. 1. 69 the annotator besides adding "p" has given the initials "J. W."

No. 74. John Wilson's setting is extant also in Bodleian MSS. Mus. b. 1. ff. 97v-98 and Don. c. 57. 142 (142v) f. 78v ascribed and in Drexel MS. 4257. 170 (Treble only). At the foot of f. 70v in Dc. 1. 69 the annotator has added "More Verses in print" referring presumably to *Cheerfull Ayres,* pp. 92-3. At the foot of f. 71 the second annotator has added the comment, "See on fly leaf at the end of the vol.," suitably arrowed to indicate relevance to the item on the previous folio.

No. 75. Nicholas Lanier's setting is extant in Bod. MS. Don. c. 57. 141 (142) f. 78 in B.M. Add. MSS. 29396, ff. 25v-26 (ascribed) and 10337, f. 55 (ascribed wrongly to Wilson presumably on the authority of its inclusion in *C.A.,* pp. 84-5, though even there the Cantus is ascribed to Lanier) and by title only in Drexel MS. 4257. 90.

No. 76. This song from John Ford's *The Lovers Melancholy* is extant also in Bod. MS. Mus. b. 1. f. 99. *C.A.,* pp. 88-9.

No. 77. Extant also in Drexel MS. 4175 LVIII (lute) (see my article on "An unpublished contemporary setting of a Shakespeare Song", *Shakespeare Survey,* 1956, IX. 89 n. 2) and in Bod. Lib. MS. Mus. Sch. F. 575. 8 (lute). *C.A.,* pp. 94-95.

No. 78. Owen Fellthams's song "The Sun and the Wind" printed in *Lusoria,* 1661, p. 6 as set by Wilson is extant also in Bod. MS. Mus. b. 1. ff. 104v-105. *C.A.,* pp. 96-97.

No. 79. As far as I am able to determine this song does not occur elsewhere. I have included it in SCS & L.

No. 80. *C.A.,* pp. 126-7. Anonymous?

No. 81. Extant also in Bod. MS. Mus. b. 1., ff. 87v-88. *C.A.,* pp. 124-125.

No. 82. Extant also in Bod. MS. Mus. b. 1., f. 65v. *C.A.,* pp. 116-117.

No. 83. Robert Heath's "Clarastella distrusting" printed in *Clarastella,* 1650, p. 23) is extant also in Bod. MS. Mus. b. 1., f. 124. *C.A.,* pp. 114-115.

No. 84. Extant also in Bod. MS. Mus. b. 1. f. 110. *C.A.,* pp. 118-119.

No. 85. Extant also in Bod. MS. Mus. b. 1. f. 107 and in Drexel MS. 4257. 154. *C.A.,* pp. 120-121.

No. 86. Extant also in Bod. MS. Mus. b. 1. f-123v. *C.A.,* pp. 122-123.

No. 87. Extant also in Bod. MS. Mus. b. 1., ff. 61v-62. It was printed in *The Academy of Compliments* in 1650 and in *C.A.,* pp. 73-75 from which latter source A. H. Bullen printed it in *Speculum Amantis,* (London, 1902), p. 1.

No. 88. Extant also in Bod. MS. Mus. b. 1. ff-46v-47. *C.A.,* pp. 70-2.

No. 89. Extant also in Bod. MS. Mus. b. 1., ff. 47v-48. *C.A.,* pp. 67-69.

No. 90. This is the only manuscript version of the song from Beaumont and Fletcher's *Valentinian,* V. viii which, hitherto, was known only from the printed source *C.A.,* pp. 130-1. See my book on *Music for Shakespeare's Company.*

No. 91. Extant also in Bod. MSS. Mus. b. 1. f. 109v, and Don. c. 57 140 (141v) f. 77v (ascribed to "John Wilson") and in Drexel MS. 4257. 155. *C.A.,* 78-9.

No. 92. William Strode's "A Song" is extant also in Bod. MSS. Mus. b. 1. f. 121v and Don. c. 57. 115 (123) f. 64v, and in Drexel MS. 4257. 4. The song was first printed in *The Academy of Complements,* 1650. *C.A.,* pp. 26-27. Variants from the text as edited by Bertram Dobell, *The Poetical Works of William Strode,* (London, 1907), pp. 130-1 are as follows:

1 whilst] while Dc. 1. 69; doe not thus disturbe] doe not doe not moue Dc. 1. 69; 3 whilst that] while Dc. 1. 69; 4 Alas!] omit Dc. 1. 69; 9 sadd] swolne Dc. 1. 69; 11 these] omit Dc. 1. 69; 12 But oh! for shame] O but Dc. 1. 69; 16 Or] omit Dc. 1. 69: cease] leaue off your Dc. 1. 69.

No. 93. This song included in Walter Porter's *Madrigales and Ayres,* 1632 as number xxii is extant also in Bod. MS. Mus. b. 1. f. 24, and in B.M. Add. MS. 29396, f. 16 (Treble only). *C.A.,* pp. 16-17.

No. 94. It is good to have a manuscript version of this song from the *Masque of Flowers,* 1614 which we have known, hitherto, only from the printed sources of the Masque itself and *C.A.,* pp. 18-21. The setting is usually attributed to Wilson and is considered his first contribution to drama. The annotator has added "agst Tobacco" at the head of f. 83v in Dc. 1. 69.

No. 95. John Wilson's setting of this song from Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Beggars Bush* is extant also in Bod. MSS. Mus. b. 1. f-45v, and Don. c. 57 136 (137v) f. 75v (ascribed), and in Drexel MS. 4041. ff. 81v-82v (un-

ascribed). The song and its literary and musical texts have been fully commented on in my *Music for Shakespeare's Company, The King's Men. C.A.*, pp. 22-23.

No. 96. This is the only manuscript version of the setting of this song from Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Faithful Shepherdess,* III. i. It may well be significant that another song from the same play is included here in the MS. (See no. 126 and no. 15). *C.A.*, pp. 24-25.

No. 97. Extant also in Drexel MS. 4041. f. 17. The song was once included in B.M. Add. MS. 29396, ff. 48-48v: on f. 47v of this latter MS. occurs the verse only of "I will noe more enamoured be" which is designated as "The Answer to Twas not his Person: &c Mr Rich: Watkins", and to be sung "To the tune" of "Twas not his Person".

No. 98. This is a good example of the kind of problem facing a researcher in this particular field. The first stanza of this song is "Your loue if vertuous" as the full version extant in Drexel MS. 4041 ff. 57-58 indicates to which there is given an answer in the same MS. "My loues as vertuous as yours is" on the same folios.

No. 99. Sir William Davenant's song, first printed as his in the 1673 posthumous edition of his poems, was actually printed in *C.A.*, pp. 54-6 but under the refrain line "Awake awake the morne will never rise", and it is likewise found with this as the first line in Bod. MS. Mus. b. 1. ff. 128v-129 (John Wilson's setting as in Dc. 1. 69) and in Drexel MS. 4041. ff. 19v-20 (William Lawes' setting). See further *Musica Disciplina,* 1956. In Dc. 1. 69 this item does *not* have a "p" at the head of the folio. Rimbault failed to see that it was the same as had been printed in *C.A.*

No. 100. No more items from *C.A.* occur from this point in the MS. to the end. Owen Fellthams "The Appeal" from *Lusoria,* 1661, pp. 7-8 as set by John Wilson is extant in Bod. MS. Mus. b. 1. ff. 80-80v and in B.M. Add. MS. 11608, ff. 67v-8 (ascribed).

No. 101. Henry Lawes attributed this lyric to Henry Hughes in his *3rd Book of Ayres,* 1658, p. 10, but there would seem to be a rival claim for Sir Robert Aytoun (cf. Charles Roger ed., *The Poems of Sir Robert Aytoun,* (Edinburgh, 1844), pp. 62-63. This song was printed in *Choice Drollery,* 1656, *Sportive Wit,* 1656, and *Loyal Garland,* 1686 as anonymous. The setting occurs in Drexel MSS. 4041. ff. 29-29v and 4257. 194, in B.M. Add. MS. 29396. f. 46v à 3 where there is the comment "Latin source by Hen: Jacob" and in B.M. Loan MS. 35. f. 144. For further information about Henry Hughes see Maynard, W., "Henry Hughes: A Forgotten Poet", *Music & Letters,* October, 1952, XXXIII 4. 335-340.

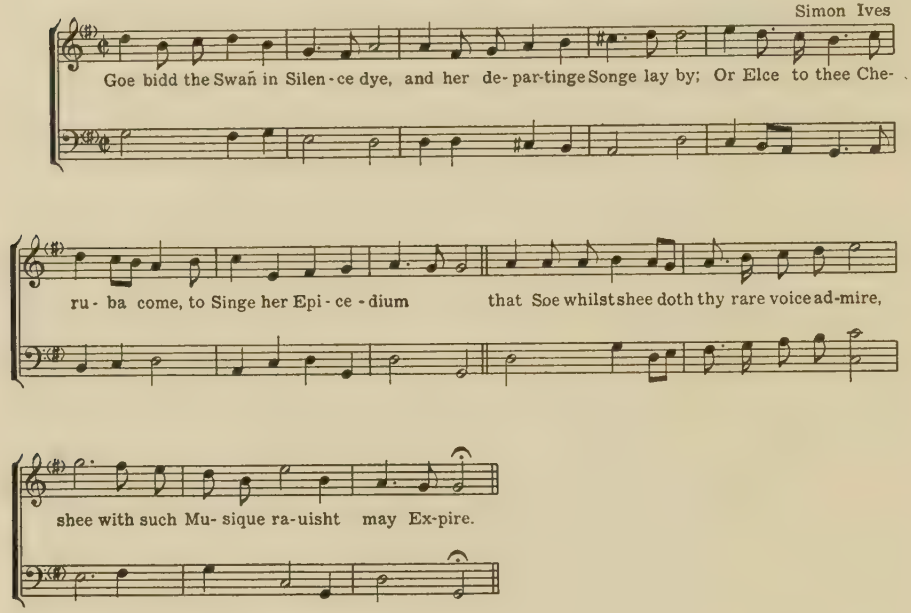
No. 102. I have been unable to trace this song anywhere. Printed for the first time in my SCS & L.

No. 103. Extant also in Drexel MS. 4041. ff. 110v-111v and in B.M. Loan MS. 35, f-162. The song refers to the "Topsey turvey" state of the Civil War.

No. 104. This has been printed by Bertram Dobell in his edition of *The Poetical Works of William Strode,* (London, 1907), p. 124 as a "doubtful" ascription. Two more verses occur in Bod. MS. Don. c. 57. 146 (144) f. 80v which I printed in *Music & Letters,* July 1953, XXXIV. 3. 192-212. The song is also extant in Lambeth Palace MS. 1041, f. 3 (Treble and Tablature).
Variants from the text edited by Dobell, Bertram, *The Poetical Works of William Strode,* (London, 1907), p. 124 are:

4 And] omitted in Dc. 1. 69; 5 are] doe Dc. 1. 69: your] our Dc. 1. 69; 6 through] Ouer Dc. 1. 69.

No. 105. Simon Ives' setting of this wonderful lyric is to my mind the most enchanting thing in the whole manuscript. It does not occur elsewhere.


Simon Ives
Goe bidd the Swañ in Silen-ce dye, and her de-par-tinge Songe lay by; Or Elce to thee Che-
ru-ba come, to Singe her Epi-ce-dium that Soe whilst shee doth thy rare voice ad-mire,
shee with such Mu-sique ra-uisht may Ex-pire.

No. 106. I cannot trace this.

No. 107. I cannot trace this. It is not Hammond's "Tell me O loue why Celia smooth".

No. 108. I cannot trace this and yet the infuriating thing is that the annotator must have known it because he supplied the words "To y^{e} K. To y^{e} Q. to their royal sons & Bro^{r}". It obviously belonged to the times of the Civil War and is a royalist drinking song.

No. 109. The first words that occur in the song are "Then cast thy Bookes" but according to the Table the first words were "South Wind blowes". It is a drinking song. A title "The Rayny Day" is given at the head of folio 95v.

No. 110. Untraced. A lament by a lover that his loved one Claudia is wedded to another.

No. 111. This song is extant also in Bod. MS. Mus. b. 1. ff. 141v-142 and its text in Folger MS. 2073. 4. 91 (c. 1630-1640). Included in my *SCS & L.*

No. 112. Untraced. A little homily on "Sic transit gloria mundi".

No. 113. This is Henry Bowman's setting of Michael Drayton's "The Cryer", (printed in 1619 in his "Odes with other lyric poesies") is a valuable addition to our knowledge of Drayton's texts. The following variants occur from the received text as edited by J. W. Hebel *The Works of Michael Drayton,* 5 vols., (Oxford, 1931-41), II. 371:

1 Gold] loue Dc. 1. 69; 5 O yes (3 times)] O yes (2); 14 piece] place Dc. 1. 69; 15 Faith] & fayth Dc. 1. 69; 16 was] is Dc. 1. 69: a] most Dc. 1. 69; 20 Gods] Loue Dc. 1. 69.

The setting is a most remarkable one. There is clear evidence of the use of the marks of expression "soft" and "lowd", a most unusual thing in 17th century music MSS. These occur alternately over the repetitions of the phrase "Either (impound it)". I suspect, however, that this and the next item were added to the MS. at a later date.

The song (Altus and Bassus) was included in Bishop Smith's MS. (1637) (See Brown, James Walker, "An Elizabethan Song-Cycle", *Cornhill,* 1920, XLVIII. 572-9 and *Cornhill,* 1921, XLVIX 285-296.) The text is included in Folger MS. 452-4 ff. 80v-81 under the title "On a man vppon himselfe that made this beainge in loue".

No. 114. This also is a Henry Bowman's setting which he printed in *Songs by Henry Bowman,* 1677, pp. 69-74.

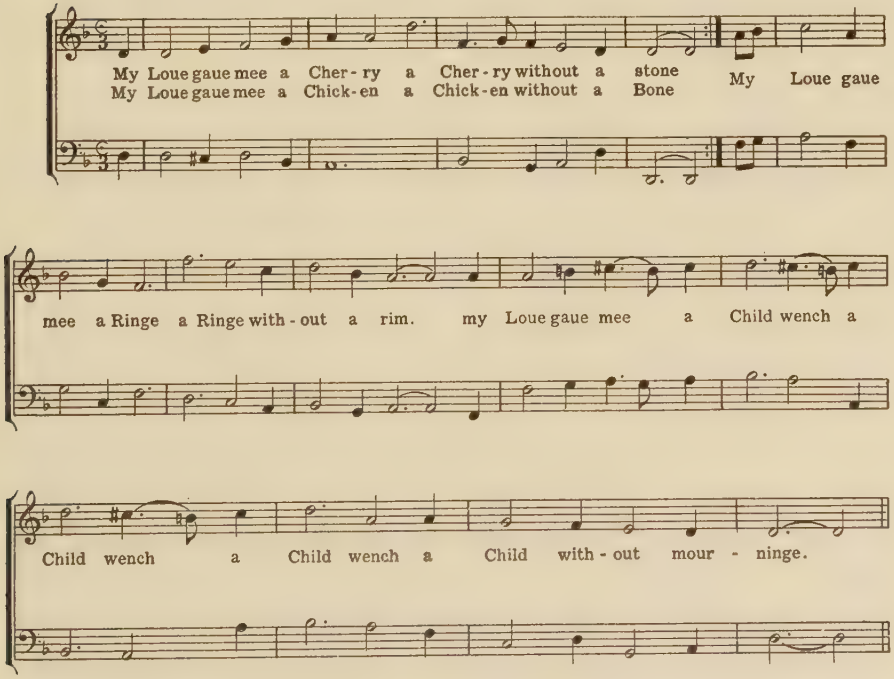
Volume now reversed and beginning at the back, though the first item No. 115, is alone unreversed.

No. 115. This is an extra stanza to No. 74. See *supra.*

No. 116. Samuel Rowland included "Sir Eglamore" in his *The Melancholie Knight* published in 1615, but the earliest copy of the music hitherto known is Playford's *Pleasant Musical Companion,* 1687.

The version here employs "black" dotted minims. The tune is the familiar one as given by Chappell, W., *Popular Music of the Olden Time,* 2 vols., (London, 1859), I. 276.

No. 117. This is the "riddle song", with interesting variants in text in addition to an entirely different tune most conspicuous in its repetitive "a Child wench".


My Loue gaue mee a Cher-ry a Cher-ry without a stone
My Loue gaue mee a Chick-en a Chick-en without a Bone
My Loue gaue
mee a Ringe a Ringe with-out a rim. my Loue gaue mee a Child wench a
Child wench a Child wench a Child with-out mour-ninge.

The text and the way it is fitted to the music are sufficiently interesting to merit full quotation:

Underlaid text

My Loue gaue mee a Cherry
a Cherry without a stone
My Loue gaue mee a Chicken
a Chicken wthout a Bone.
My Loue gaue mee a Ringe
a Ringe wthout a rim.
My Loue gaue mee a Child wench
a Child wench a Child wench
a Child without mourninge.
How could shee giue thee a Cherry &c.

Text as given separately at the foot of the folio.

How could shee giue thee a Chicken &c.
How could shee giue thee a Ringe &c.
How could shee giue thee a Child wench &c.

3 times

When Cherry's are in y^{e} Blossom then there is neuer a Stone
When Chicken are in y^{e} Egg, then &c.
When Gold is in the (wedg?), then &c.
When Children are a gettinge then &c.

3 times.

The tune is a haunting one leaning towards the tonality of *D* minor. Cf. Child, F. J., *op. cit.*, I. 414-425 for the riddles of "Captain Wedderburns Courtship". The song is not included by Chappell in his *Popular Music of Olden Time.*

No. 118. This song, which seems to be a mixture of Latin and Italian, is entirely unknown to me. A modern hand has added the signature 3/4 as an interpretation of the MS. "3i". After the song in the MS. occurs "M^{r} George Hudsons Waytes ./." Very little is known about George Hudson (cf. *Grove,* IV. 397) and it would be a help to know if Hudson were indeed *in charge* of the Waytes who were probably associated with Oxford in some way since the MS. as a whole seems to have had its origin there.

No. 119. The initials "E.L." are subscribed to this beginning of the ballad of "Chevy Chase" only the first stanza being given. A modern hand has added the comments "Real old tune" at the head of the folio and "Tune Flying Fame // See Ritson's songs Vol. 3" at the foot with the complete tune of Ritson's version in 6/4 being written out exactly as Ritson published it in Ritson, Joseph *A Select Collection of English Songs,* 3 vols., (London, 1783) 2nd edition 1813, III. 315. Ballad XXIV. Cf. note in Chappell, W., *Popular Music of the Olden Time,* 2 vols. (London 1855-9), I. 198 and Child, F. J., *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads,* 5 vols., (New York, 1956), III. 303-315. There is one significant variant from the text as edited by Child, III. 311 and as in the Percy MS. this concerns the use of "O" instead of "God" for the very first word.

No. 120. This is William Lawes' unascribed setting of a song from Shirley's Masque *The Triumph of Beauty.* The first version here in the MS. scored for 2 voices is left incomplete: the second version à 3 is complete. Variants

from the text as edited by R. L. Armstrong *The Poems of James Shirley,* (New York, 1941), pp. 51-52 are as follows:

1 his] y^e^ Dc. 1. 69; 6 your] y^e^ Dc. 1. 69; 8 flowers do] O flowers Dc. 1. 69; 10 his] y^e^ Dc. 1. 69; 11 yee] yo^r^ Dc. 1. 69; 12 this] y^e^ Dc. 1. 69; 13 And ... your] Tell ... y^e^ Dc. 1. 69; 15 him] then Dc. 1. 69: your] y^e^ Dc. 1. 69.

William Lawes' setting is extant also in his autograph MS. Bod. Lib. Mus. Sch. B 2 à 3 voc. where it has been hatched but is still legible.

No. 121. I have not been able to trace this item. I have included it in SCS & L.

No. 122. Henry Lawes who printed a setting in his first book of *Ayres,* 1653 attributed the lyric to Henry Reynolds. Henry Lawes' setting is extant also in B.M. Add. MS. 11608, f. 8 (ascribed) and in B.M. Loan MS. 35. f. 79v (autograph) and in Drexel MS. 4041. f. 62v (unascribed), William Lawes' setting as here in Dc. 1. 69 is considerably superior to Henry's. It is a through setting of the three verses with the last scored as a chorus whereas Henry's is a setting of the first verse and the remaining two verses are to be sung to the same tune as the first. A reference to the song occurs in the play *The Ghost,* V. i. (or *The Woman Wears the Breeches*), 1652. The lyric is included in *Wit's Interpreter,* 1655, Sig. X 5v.

No. 123. William Lawes' setting of this song from Shirley's Masque *The Triumph of Peace,* 1633 increases his share over his brother's still more:

Song 1 "Hence y^e^ profane far hence away" is extant in his autograph MS. Bod. Lib. Mus. B 2.

Song 2 "Wherefore do my sisters stay" is extant in the same MS.

Song 3 "Think not I could absent myself this night" is extant in the same MS.

Song 7 "Why doe you dwell so long in clouds" Dc. 1. 69, f. 109.

Song 8 "In envie to the night" B.M. Add. MS. 31432, f. 26 (autograph) and Drexel MS. 4041. f. 14 (ascribed).

Variants from the text edited by Armstrong, op. cit., p. 47 are important enough to merit full quotation:

Why doe you dwell .....
.....
you are too single for delight
goe Kiss theire hands as conquer'd at first sight
whose every touch whose every touch
whose every touch will make y^r^ owne more white

Cho.

you are too single for delight
goe Kiss those hands as conquered at first sight
whose every touch whose every touch
will make your owne more white.

No. 124. William Lawes' setting of John Donne's "The Apparition" is a bold one. I have included it in my *Contemporary Musical Settings of the Metaphysicals,* (Oklahoma University Press). The following very interesting variants occur from the text as edited by Grierson, H. J. C., *The Poems of John Donne,* (Oxford University Press, 1912, reprint 1938), pp. 47-48.

1 O] foule Dc. 1. 69; 2 that thou thinkst] y^u^ shalt thinke; 3 from] of Dc. 1. 69; 4-10] not written out in Dc. 1. 69; 11 then] y^u^

Dc. 1. 69; 12 wilt] shalt Dc. 1. 69; 14 — 1st half not written out in MS; 16 I had rather thou shouldst painfully] I'de rather painfully y^{u} should'st Dc. 1. 69; 17 rest stil] keep y^{ee} Dc. 1. 69.

No. 126. See item No. 15.

No. 127. I cannot trace this and yet the poem would seem to have been printed because the annotator has occasionally supplied words where there are gaps in the underlaid texts.

No. 128. William Lawes' setting of this song from Davenant's Masque *Prince d'Amour* 1635 is extant also in his autograph MS. Bod. Lib. Mus. B 2. Variants from the folio 1673 Sig. Eee 2 text are as follows:

5 you] y^{ee} Dc. 1. 69; 6-7 is hop'd for in an Eastern Spring: / Or all that] w^{ch} Dc. 1. 69; 8 day] May Dc. 1. 69; 9 this] y^{ee} Dc. 1. 69; 10 we walk] y^{ee} walkes Dc. 1. 69; 11 prove] shew Dc. 1. 69.

No. 129. I have not been able to trace this Italian song.

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